

THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

FOUNDED IN 1915 BY RUDOLPH E. SCHIRMER

Under the Editorship of

VOL. 17, No. 4

O. G. SONNECK

OCTOBER, 1931

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

THREE DOLLARS A YEAR

At 3 East 43rd Street
New York, N. Y.

SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY

Entered as second-class matter December 31, 1914, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

G.SCHIRMER, Inc. NEW YORK

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Printed in the U. S. A.



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

VOL. XVII

OCTOBER, 1931

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MUSIC AND DRAMA

By ILDEBRANDO PIZZETTI

I KNOW a musician who for the last thirty years has never let an opportunity pass by of affirming his conviction that the highest, greatest, and loftiest form of musical expression is the dramatic, and more particularly music for the stage. To-day, if possible, he goes farther, in averring without hesitation that no artistic expression in any art is of value or has a reason to exist, unless it has the qualities of a drama or represents the consequences and conclusions of a drama. But we shall deal with this point later. When I proposed to write about music and drama, I naturally took advantage of my acquaintance with this musician and called on him to ask his advice and help. After listening to what I had to say, he looked at me with an expression of brotherly forbearance and said: "Would it not be better for you to write a page of good music, if you can, rather than to discourse about theories?"

"Perhaps, then, you no longer believe that drama is the supreme form of musical expression?" I asked.

"If that were so," he replied scornfully, "it would mean that we no longer believed in art. Drama? Why, there is nothing else but drama to give life to music!"

I sat down beside my adviser, who in the meantime had lit his pipe; I took a small volume from my pocket. "Listen," said I, "to what you wrote on this subject twenty years ago." And I read aloud the following passage:

If to-day somebody wished to describe the historical unfolding of the musical drama from its origin, would it be sufficient for him to consider the theatrical attempts of the Florentines of 1600, or should he begin with the Greek tragedies? As regards Greek tragedy, we may form suppositions; but however far-seeing and ingenious they may be, history

is not made of suppositions; and to write the history and criticism of the part of music in the Greek tragedies there is not, and perhaps there never will be, sufficient documentary evidence.

From a musical point of view, all we can know and study of Greek tragedies is their variety of rhythms, which to those who created them, and harmoniously put them to music, may have suggested some wonderful epic and lyrical expressions; but of themselves these rhythms do not have the power of revealing to us the musical intonations with which they were associated. Nor could we, by a musical reconstruction of some fragment of a Greek tragedy, succeed in setting, with however much study, a single strophe of Æschylus or Sophocles to the oldest and purest music that has come down to us: the chants of Latin liturgy, in which, according to some authorities, Greek music continued to live on. Witness the clever but vain attempts of Gevaert. Therefore it seems to me futile to begin a history of musical drama with Greek tragedies.

Nor should it be begun with the melodrama of the Florentines in 1600. There are other expressions of musical dramatic art preceding the Florentine melodrama which historians and critics should seriously consider. That is to say, there are the Italian Mystery Plays and Sacred Representations,¹ and before them there was the Christian liturgical drama. In fact, the liturgical chants of the Roman Catholic Church are probably as old as the simple poetry of the first believers. It is common knowledge that Christian liturgy was, from its beginning, a symbolic performance of Golgotha's drama or of some other event of Christ's life, or a simple narrative play based on some memorable story of the Holy Scriptures, or of the lives of the Saints, or of miracles performed by the latter (the epic part of liturgy), or hymns of praise of the mysteries of religion and of the attributes of the Divinity (the real lyric part of liturgy, but much less exuberant than the former). Therefore it is clear that the first form of dramatic art, representing the story and beliefs of Christianity, was both poetical and musical. When the clergy, in order to draw the people away from the spectacles which the Gentiles continued to offer them in circus and amphitheatre, wished to give them a performance which, while it satisfied their desire to see and hear something miraculous, did not take them away from the Church, they could do no better than represent the most beautiful and interesting parts of the liturgical functions. And legends like those of the Wise Men of the East, of the Passion, of the Resurrection of our Lord, of Lazarus, were dramatized and performed as plays.

Thus developed the liturgical drama which was performed and sung by the ecclesiastics, and which may be considered as the first form of musical drama, excluding the Greek tragedies. Later on, from the religious ecstasy of the flagellants, originated a new kind of popular poesy: the *lauds*, which began in ordinary language and in poetry, and were sung.

Now, it is not necessary to dwell on the origin and development of the metrical forms of the lauds, nor on the gradual perfecting of the

¹A Sacred Representation by Feo Belcari (1410-1484), "*La Rappresentatione di Abraam & Isaac suo figliuolo*" (see illustrations facing pages 422 and 423), has been set by Mr. Pizzetti himself under the title, "*La Sacra Rappresentazione di Abramo e d'Isaac.*" Its first American performance, given by The Society of the Friends of Music, took place in New York, Dec. 4, 1927.

language in which they were expressed. It is more important to establish these two points: first, that lauds tended to be not only lyrical but dramatic, since the people not only wished to have their religious ecstasy expressed in them, but wanted to have those facts of religious history, that could inspire their religious ardor, related in dialogue; and furthermore, the music to which the verses of these lauds were sung, must necessarily have been different from that of the liturgical drama.

In fact, in the liturgical drama the music, born with the poetical text, was written to suit the text, in a rhythmical, melodious, fluctuating, and very free development; while in the lauds, formed by verses paired in symmetrical couplets, the music acquired little by little a rhythm which became more and more regular, with regularly recurring accents, and had to be composed in symmetrical periods, to be repeated as many times as there were couplets.

If in the liturgical drama the music had to portray the intimate sentiments of the participants, in the lauds it could express only the religious fervor and ecstasy of the singers. In short the lauds, even when they were intended to be dramatic, were only lyrical until they took the form of theatrical performances.

First, the lauds were sung, like the antiphonal chants of the liturgy, by two alternating choruses; later, the more dramatic portions were selected and detached, to be combined with dramatic action; thus the lauds became transmuted into a new form called "Devotion." The sacred Florentine plays of 1350 comprise the two forms: liturgical drama and lauds; but the liturgical drama by now had lost its original pureness and simplicity of sentiment, and the lauds had become thoroughly imbued with lyric intensity. Gradually the poesy of the sacred plays gave way to strictly literary attitudes, and political allusions crept in together with moralizing. The action of the drama was expanded by episodes which made it more varied and complex, while mimicry received more attention and the stage apparatus assumed greater importance. In short, sacred plays gained in variety and attractiveness as an amusement, but at the same time they lost in artistic quality and value.

And the music? The music was either entirely dropped, or, if it remained, did so in the form of lauds, of arias, and, as a matter of fact, became subservient to the poetical text and nothing else—as later happened with the melodrama.

Now, if it can be said that the germ of musical expression in the drama must be sought in the liturgical plays, the development of this germ was immediately arrested by the purely lyrical preponderance introduced by the lauds. The music of the liturgical play, which grew out of free and natural elocution, devoid of all formal prejudice, was intended to do no more than heighten the effect of this elocution, while the music of the lauds was intended to express the sentiments of the singers, in accordance with certain metrical rules and formal conventions. Yet, if the sentiments of the poetry and the subject matter of the lauds varied, the strophic melody remained the same.

Here is the fundamental æsthetic misconception, because of which sacred plays could not be dramatic; it is the same mistake which, for five centuries, prevented musical drama from being a consistent reality.

For five centuries, from 1400 to 1900, composers tried at all costs to give a lyrical form to musical stage-works and forced the personages of the drama to express themselves lyrically. For five centuries (save for a few exceptions), the performers of musical dramas have not sung—that is to say, they have not lived—but the poets have declaimed and the composers have tried to sing.

At this point I stopped reading and looked at the author of these pages, who continued to smoke his pipe without giving any sign of approval or disapproval. "What have you to say?" I asked. "Are you still of the same opinion? Would you write to-day as you wrote twenty years ago?"

"As dialectics," he replied, "it is not so bad. But who can say how much truth there is in these pages, and how much of it is imagination? Perhaps the few observations regarding the musical part of Greek tragedies are right. I believe, furthermore, that if to-morrow we should find the music of an entire Greek tragedy, it would seem to us to be without expression, unsuitable and dead. Why? Not only because between the Greek musical experience and ours—even if we were to date the beginning of ours from 1000 A.D.—there is an interval which our mind would not know how to fill in; but also, and especially, because with all our efforts to study and know them in the state in which they reach us, we should not be able to understand the Greek tragedies if we could not apprehend them completely, that is to say, including their musical atmosphere. And our demands upon, and our reactions to, music have vastly changed since the days of Euripides. But in what I have said about the liturgical drama and the lauds, there is possibly more imagination than historical truth. The aim is only too evident, of throwing light on certain artistic trends and forms even at the cost of relegating to the background others that are equally important. To assert that liturgical drama contained the germ of musical drama is a dangerous claim. It is partially true, but if one recalls that the texts and the music of the liturgical drama were formed of pieces taken from the liturgy, and therefore created for religious offices which had nothing whatsoever to do with the theatre, and that these pieces were put together for purely practical ends, our estimation of the liturgical drama is immediately lowered. Unquestionably, there is some truth in the assertion that the lauds stifled the dramatic element in these primitive forms, since it was the lauds that introduced into these primitive dramas the lyrical couplet and the antidramatic element. But it would be going too far to place all the blame on the lauds alone. If the primitive forms of drama had been profane, folk-

La Rapresentatione di Abraam & Isaac suo figliuolo.



L Occhio si dice che la prima porta
per laqual l'intelletto intède .e gusta
la seconda e ludir la uoce scorta
che fa la mente nostra esser robusta
però uoi udirete quanto importa
recitare una storia tanta & giusta
ma se uolete intendere un misterio
state deuoti & con buon desiderio

Nel Genesi la santa Bibbia narra
come ciò uolse prouar l'ubidienza
del Patriarcha Abram sposo di Sarra
& per un Angiol gli parlo in presenza

alhor Abram gli suoi orecchi sbarra
inginocchiato con gran riverenza
hauendo il suo disio tutto disposto
di uoler far quato dio li haue'si ipello

Dipoi gli disse togli il tuo figliolo
unigenito isac ilqual tu ami
& di lui fammi sacrificio solo
& mostrerotti il monte perche brami
saper il luogo & non menar lo stuolo
ua chio tel mostrero senza mi chiami
cammina per la uia aspra & deserta
& fammi sol del tuo figliuolo offerta

A

First page of the libretto of "La Rapresentatione di Abraam & Isaac suo figliuolo,"
1553, by Feo Belcari (1410-1484); first performed at the Chiesa
di S. Maria Maddelena di Castello in Florence, 1449.

(By courtesy of the Library of Congress.)

questo precetto a tutti tiene occulto
 Abraam di santa ubidienza fonte
 mi meno sego senza dirmi questo
 ma quando fumo saliti in sul monte
 mi fe il diuina precetto manifesto
 & con buon modo, & con parole pröte
 a questa morte mi dispose presto
 & legomi le man nudo spogliato
 e in su le legne mhebbe celiocato
 Alzando il braccio per uolermi dare
 di questo gran coltello in su la testa
 langiolo di Dio li comincio a parlare.
 prendendo la sua man, dicendo questa
 morte, non uoglio che tu faccia fare
 al tuo figliuol, e non gli dar molestia,
 alhor mi sciolse, & con gran riuertenza
 rendemo laude a Dio di tal clemenza
 Voltossi Abraã, & uide un bel montone,
 poslo tra prun miracolosamente
 ilqual offerse con gran diuotione
 sopra del fuoco, per me innocente
 di nuouo Idio gli fe promessione
 di molti beni, e come tutta gente
 sarebbe nel suo seme benedetta
 dunque felice sei madre diletta.

Sarra marauigliandosi dice.

Pel tuo parlare io son tutta smarrita
 che li spiriti miei sento mancare
 al mondo non fu mai tal cosa udita
 & stupefatta sto pure a pensare
 quel chai parlato, & tutta impaurita
 sol de laudito, tu mi fai tremare,
 & ueggio ben che costretta d'amore
 hebbi ragion di star in gran dolore.
 Miracolosamente i t'acquistai
 con miracoli maggior sei ritornato,
 perche finiti son tutti i mie guai
 con tutto il cor il signor sia laudato
 per satisfare al dolor chio portai
 uo che si balli, & canti, in questo lato
 ciascun in compagnia de langiol buono
 ringratii Dio di questo magno dono

Sarra & tutti glialtri di casa, eccetto

Abraã, & quelli dui Angeli, luno che an
 nütio la festa, & laltro che gli apparì in
 sul monte, & tutti insieme fanno un bal
 lo cantando questa laude.

Chi serue a Dio con purita di core
 Viue contento, & poi saluato more

Se la uirtu dispiace un poco al senso
 nel suo principio, quando e elercitato
 lalma che sente uero gaudio immenso
 dentro dal cor, e tutta confortata,
 la mente sua si truoua radiata
 da quella luce del sommo splendore,
 Quando ordinati son tutti i costumi
 dentro, e di fuori, al nostro eterno Dio
 alhor si ueggon quelli eccelsi lumi
 che fanno uiuer lhuom col core giulio
 cantando uan per un santo dñio,
 le gran dolcezze del perfetto amore
 Van giubilando, e dicon gente stolta,
 cercando pace ne mondan diletta
 se uoi uolete hauer letitia molta
 seruite a Dio con tutti e uostri effetti
 eglie quel fonte di uirtu perfetti
 che fa giocondo ogni suo seruicere.
 Chi serue a Dio con purita di core
 Viue contento, e poi saluato more.

Fatto il ballo Langiolo licentia il pos
 polo, & dice.

Chiaro cōpreso hauete il magno frutto
 del obseruar tutti i diuin precetti
 pero chel nostro Dio Signor del tutto
 ha sempre cura de suoi serui eletti
 se disporrete trarne buon construtto
 terrete e uostri cor da colpe netti,
 e innamorati di tanta obediencia
 cialcun si parta con nostra licenza.

EL FINE.

In Firenze. M. D. LIII:

songs would have done to them what the lauds did to the sacred plays. But continue to read."

Again I turned to the book:

When, during the last years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, there arose in Florence, out of the artistic discussions of some men of rare intellect, that new form of art called melodrama, which was intended to be a reconstruction of the classic Greek art, the Italian sacred plays had degenerated into an exhibition of mimes and players, into an amusement for the peasantry, the so-called "May Song." Now, the only dramatic expression of music worth consideration is the melodrama, an aristocratic expression of art, a performance—to endorse Marco da Gagliano's words—really for princes. The æsthetic tenets of Jacopo Peri, Giulio Caccini and Marco da Gagliano are well known. What importance did the forerunners of the musical drama wish to attribute to music for the expressiveness of drama? Did they only wish to reinforce the effect of the poetic text by means of musical intonation? If this were all, we should already have to consider them as the inventors of one of the fundamental æsthetic principles of the Wagnerian drama. Did they seek nothing more?

Peri did not clearly foresee all that music could do in the way of expressing pure sentiment in the drama, but it seems to me that there is sufficient ground to consider Peri and his companions as creators of a form of musical drama and as exponents of some of its fundamental rules. And what matter if they devised intuitively a new means of expression by thinking that they were following the mirage of the musical form of Greek tragedies? What matter if they thought that melodrama was an entertainment for princes, to be performed for pleasure only, and did not understand that in it reposed the germs of a novel form of art which was destined to become the highest, the greatest and the most human?

By some strange inevitable fate, song—that same song which in the guise of the lauds entered and destroyed the sacred plays as drama—forced its way into the melodrama. And the players, who in the first specimens of operatic music spoke their lines and musically accented the words of the dramatic text according to its logical meaning, abandoned themselves gradually to lyrical effusiveness. Poetic metres came to determine not only musical forms but, through these forms, the intensity of the players', or singers', sentiment and the reasons for their actions.

Therefore, when the melodrama finally became established as a form of theatrical art, it was composed of two different and distinct elements: the *recitativo* and the *aria*; that is to say, the personages of the drama expressed themselves either by means of recitative, stressing the declamation of the poetical text with musical intonation, or by lyrical means, with arias, duets and larger ensembles, trying to do justice to both the dramatic exigencies of the words and the lyrical requirements of the music. And the result was really neither dramatic nor lyrical.

Claudio Monteverdi was the greatest creator of the "drama for music" of the 17th century, and one of the greatest musical geniuses of all times! He was one of the first to see clearly the possibilities of the melodic, rhythmic, and instrumental elements in the drama. He knew the expressive value of melodic intervals, of chords, and of rhythms, and

he knew how to use them all in order to reveal the intimate feelings of the personages of the drama, so far as instrumental means at his disposal allowed. He was the first to understand the expressive gamut of the orchestra, the evocative power of the melodic motives and of instrumental coloring. But he also yielded to the lyrical impulse, and without restraint. The *aria* was a beautiful lyric form, well adapted to the flow of melody which sang in his heart; and submitting to its lure, he allowed it to enter his dramas even where it had no place. With Monteverdi melodrama usurped the place of the musical drama. And after only one century we see melodrama reduced to a series of varied arias bound together by a slender thread of recitative.

"Enough! Stop reading!"

My listener had placed his hand on the page to prevent me from continuing. He knocked the ashes out of his pipe and looked at me for a moment without speaking, and then continued:

"You see, all this argumentation has but one possible excuse, and that is, the ardent wish to discover what really constitutes a musical drama and how it should be fashioned. The investigation, however, leads to the realization that almost every opera written from 1600 to the present has been an artificial hybrid, and has nothing to do with real life. Why weary your readers with an account of the mistakes and failures into which musical dramatic expression has fallen? Negative criticism is easy! It is easy to point out what should not have been done and what should not have been attempted. The contrary is more difficult. But clearly, it is your job to do so, my poor friend, since you are a creative musician and a composer of operas. At the present time the opera houses and concert halls are invaded by composers who, in the name of neo-classicism, put together the most coldly calculated things imaginable."

Taking advantage of a moment's pause, I asked: "But what do you consider a musical drama?" To which my friend replied: "And what, pray, do you call life? Explain to me what life is and I will define what drama is."

To live—what does it mean? Is it perhaps to breathe, walk, eat, drink, and sleep? Certainly not. To aspire to a state which is not material, to put forth your efforts to attain it: this certainly means to live.

Love for an individual, for greatness and glory, may be devoid of egotism. Higher still is the love of humanity, the aspiration to an activity for the happiness of others, any effort productive of good and consolation to others; highest of all stands the will and strength to make sacrifices for others, the joy of giving for no other reason than to dedicate one's self to a noble cause. This certainly

means to live. Now when we realize that all efforts to do good are constantly in danger of being frustrated by the forces of evil, those mysterious, obscure, and manifold agencies of deception and temptation which are awake and active in every man, then we will understand the drama of life. Therefore all that pertains to the life of man can be made the subject of the dramatist's art. Therefore not only the legends and the history of the past, but also all contemporary life can furnish dramatic material. But it must appear in eternal and universal aspects, not in the realistic light of temporal and transient existence. To escape reality, is the reason why so many poets and composers of our day turn to exoticism. They do not see that, in trying to avoid one pitfall, they have stumbled into a worse one. For no man can be himself or make himself universally understood, unless he speak his own language instead of affecting alien accents.

If Shakespeare wrote his plays without having music in mind, is not the ardor of passion, of love, and of struggle which animates *Othello* or *Macbeth*, *King Lear* or *Romeo and Juliet*, steeped in the very essence of music? It is said that Goethe knew very little of music. Yet who, with any sensibility, can read "*Faust*" without feeling that round the personages of that dramatic poem there is woven a wonderful musical atmosphere, and that the most expressive words they use reveal the musical nature of the poet? The truly great dramatist is also musician. And again, any musician wishing to set a drama to music must have the dramatic instinct. Otherwise failure is inevitable. Witness Ambroise Thomas and the ridiculous music he composed for Hamlet's monologue!

The lyrical element in the operas written between 1700 and 1800 was so fatal and led to so many absurdities, because it was introduced not for the sake of the drama but for the sake of singers. Hence the arbitrary agglomeration of "pieces of music" to favor the first soprano or leading tenor or *basso profundo*. The musicians who composed these operas asked of the librettists not a dramatic poem but a series of song-texts. The audiences that listened to them did not seek a reason for those arias, pleased enough if they were well sung. The melodrama of 1700 or of 1800 was a hedonistic means to a social end. Its dramatic shortcomings were overlooked for the sake of the pleasures it offered. Nor did occasional "reforms" touch the real kernel of the evil.

What do we understand by melody? What are its functions in dramatic music? There was a time when some people declared that there was no melody in the music of Beethoven; and in 1858

critics wrote that there was no melody in Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Is melody a simple succession of sounds? Certainly not, or it would be something purely mechanical. Melody is emotion translated into musical sounds. Nor does the translation require an elaborate vocal line, so long as it rings true.

When Violetta, in the last act of *La Traviata* sings "Take it, this is the image of my past days" (Prendi, questa è l'immagine dei miei giorni passati), the musical phrase is content with two tones, ending in two tones a little higher than the first; and yet, to hear this simple phrase will bring tears to our eyes.

Remember Otello's "Niun mi tema se anche armato mi vede" (Nobody fears me even if they see me armed) leading up to the suicide; this is music without curves, drawn with a few straight lines; yet is it less melodious?

This does not mean that broad and luscious melody does not have its occasional and rightful place. We need but think of the aria "Casta Diva" and of the finale of *Norma*. But the aria "Casta Diva" is justified and proper under that sky and the silvery rays of the moon, before those priests, under the influence of a mysterious religious sentiment; that chaste and divine prayer could not have taken a more suitable form. So in the finale of the opera, that sublime melody in E major has its *raison d'être* because it begins where the drama ends, when all earthly and material realities drop away, when a voice, pure in its nudity, hymns a universal lament without sobs and cries, expressing liberation, purification, and happiness.

Dramatic music should express life in action—conflicts of matter and mind, of instincts and aspirations, of egoism and moral duty; and lyrical music should express the transcendence, the overcoming of these conflicts. There is no music other than these two types, not even outside the music for the stage. There is no true or great art, which is not the expression of a conflict and its resolution, of a drama in which individuals, or sentiments, or ideas are involved, and its catharsis. Symphonic music obeys the same laws, even though it be without words; it must have dramatic life to be music at all, that is, it must have a content born of conflict, lest it be a mere juggling with sound and noise.

A STUDY IN EAST INDIAN RHYTHM

By WINTHROP SARGEANT and SARAT LAHIRI

I.

THE present study is based on an analysis of a *gath* as performed by Lachmi Pershad Misra, a North Indian *vina* player of some eminence who died recently in Calcutta. The music in question, which has been recorded in modern Bengali notation by his disciples, follows a tradition supposedly handed down from the celebrated seventeenth century musician Muhamad Reza. It is, at any rate, a typical example of the extended form of composition which is employed in North India by virtuosos on instruments of the *vina* type.

The greater part of Hindustani music may be roughly divided into two categories—*alap* and *gath*. *Alap* is a free improvisatory type of playing, untrammelled by rigid rhythmic conventions, and largely inexpressible in terms of European notation. *Gath*, on the other hand, while extemporaneous in the sense that all East Indian music is extemporaneous, conforms nevertheless to certain very definite, and often complex, structural formulas which can be represented on paper with considerable accuracy. The present work is of the latter variety. It would be, of course, a great mistake to assume that the European notation here given includes all those organic details which lend this music so much of its charm in actual performance. These details are, however, concerned rather with the practice of instrumental technique than with the abstract conventions of form, and from the point of view of rhythm, at least, there is nothing in the original that cannot be adequately accounted for in notational terms.

The instruments for which this particular type of music is designed include the *vina*, the *sitar*, and the *surbahar*. They will be referred to here only inasmuch as they affect the formal structure of the music. All are of the same general type, consisting of a resonating body, usually formed by a gourd or pumpkin, and a long neck or fingerboard supplied with frets. Across the frets and the ivory bridge are stretched the strings, customarily seven in number, of which two (in exceptional cases three) are used for melodic purposes, the rest forming the drone. The strings are plucked with the aid of a plectrum which, by *sitar* and *surbahar* players, is attached to the index finger of the right hand, the

instrument being held more or less like a guitar. Occasionally, for more complicated effects, two fingers with two plectrums are used. The tone, although *pizzicato*, is extremely resonant, permitting, when desired, of quite sustained effects. The rapidity with which notes may be reiterated by means of the plectrum, makes these instruments especially suited to a rhythmic type of music. The plectrum passes back and forth over the strings, plucking them outward as well as inward. The inward strokes, are, as a rule, slightly heavier than the outward strokes, and much of the phrasing in the small rhythmic patterns depends upon the proper choice of strokes, accented tones usually being played inward. These strokes are indicated in the accompanying example by the signs \sqcap and \sqcup signifying respectively inward and outward. Notes not accompanied by these signs are understood to follow in a regular alternation of ins and outs. Only the breaks in this alternation are indicated.

The left hand, meanwhile, controls the pitch by stopping the melodic string in conjunction with one or another of the numerous frets. Upon this hand devolves the complex technique of ornamentation known as *mir*. This technique, which is an integral part of all *vina* and *sitar* playing, is concerned with the deflection, or pulling-aside, of the string in order to alter the pitch of a note. This is accomplished by sliding the string along a given fret until it is pulled completely out of its normal line, the increased tension raising the pitch of the note on occasion as much as a minor third. The effect is that of a short *glissando*, and its use imparts to this type of music a surprising elasticity, giving it at times an almost vocal quality. By means of the *mir* technique a number of different tones may be played on the same fret with varying degrees of deflection. Only certain notes of the *raga*, however, permit of such deflection according to the traditions of Indian music. In the accompanying example the *glissandi* resulting from deflected notes are indicated by slurs.

The *raga*, or melodic scale-pattern, in which the present work is conceived is *gara*. It is given by Fox Strangways¹ as approximately:

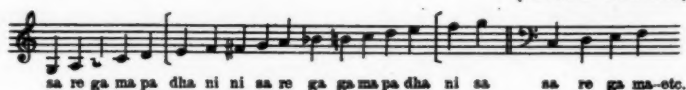


While an extended discussion of the conventions of *raga* is not within the compass of this article (this phase of Hindu music

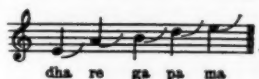
¹The Music of Hindostan, Oxford Press, 1914.

has been considered at length by several writers on the subject, notably C. E. Clements and Fox Strangways), a few details concerning the particular *raga* with which we have to deal may be of interest. *Gara*, like the great majority of *ragas* in use, contains no so-called quarter-tone, or *sruti* steps. Its melodic conventions are diatonic. Its tuning is not, however, based on any system of temperament, and differs slightly, at least in theory, from the tuning of a Western piano. Occasionally, with the aid of the *mir* technique, tones are produced that vary radically from the diatonic series, but these tones are used only as accidental ornamentations and have little to do with the basic structure. The tones used in this work are the following (the whole work has been transposed a fifth higher than actual sound in order to facilitate notation. This transposition does not, however, affect its fundamental relationships):

(Actual sounds)



The two *nis* and *gas* are never used in succession, since the diatonic character of the *raga* would thereby be destroyed. The notes of this series that may be raised by deflection, or *mir*, are:



The drone which accompanies some parts of the work consists, in the fullest form, of the following tones:





(sounding a fifth lower).

II.

The thematic form of the work is quite intricate. The main theme, or *astai*, is stated and repeated. The *antara*, or second theme, follows, and the first theme is stated once again. Then comes a section of "development" or "elaboration," the *sancari*, and this is followed by the *abhog*, a recapitulation of the main theme. This much constitutes a small form in itself. It is a slight variant of the formula: *astai* + *antara* + *sancari* + *astai* (or *abhog*), which is a very common song-form throughout East Indian music. It bears a marked similarity in its general structure to our sonata-form,

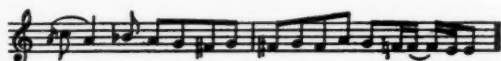
although it is difficult to draw parallels, since the element of key-relationship which is all-important in our system of structure is totally foreign to that of the Hindus. It is, however, customary to place the second theme in a different voice-register from that of the first: it will be seen upon examination that the compass of

the *astai* is ; that of the *antara* . The

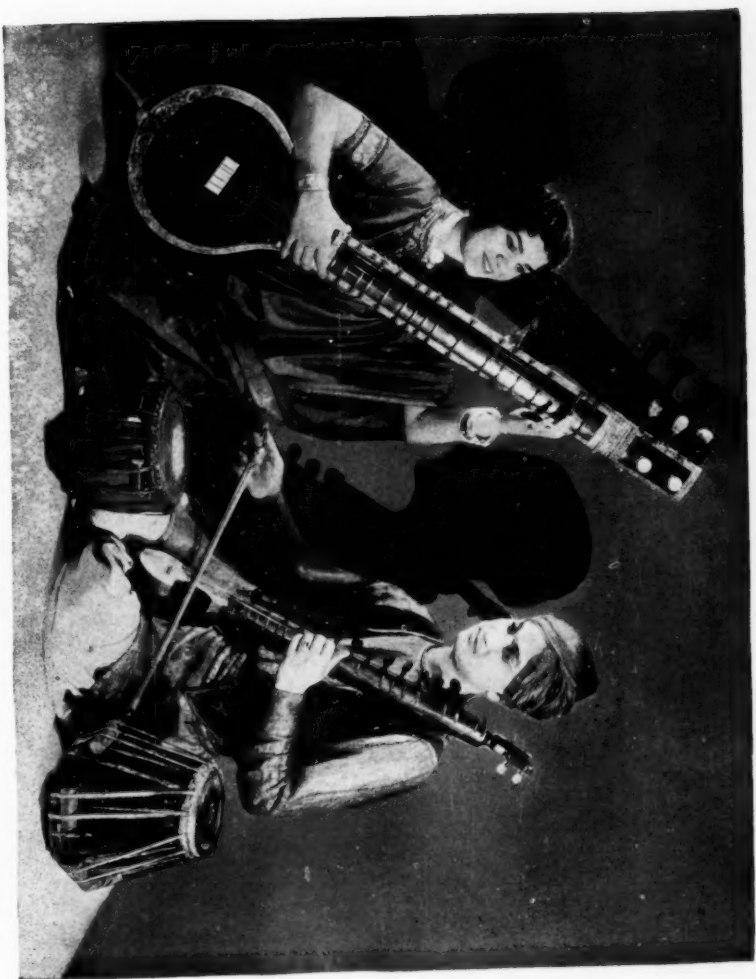
word *sancari* which we have translated as development or elaboration, means literally "moving about," and the function of this section is rather to introduce variety than to constitute a strict development of thematic material in our sense.

This entire first part of the work is followed by a long series of *tans* interspersed with reappearances of the *astai* or main theme. The *tans* are short sections of varied rhythmic material displaying the ingenuity of the composer-performer. Each *tan* is followed by a restatement of the *astai*—the whole constituting an arrangement somewhat analogous to our rondo-form ($A+B+A+C+A+D+---$). The *tans* tend to increase in complexity as they go along, each employing a different sort of rhythmic material, the entire series of fourteen revealing a field of melodic resources that should put the average Western "air and variations" to shame. Indeed, there are certain portions of this work which the Western musician will find great difficulty in performing with any degree of accuracy, notably *Tan X* with its sudden and radical changes of metre. But this aspect of the work will be considered later.

This second part of the work is followed by a section known as *jhala*, or "breaking up," in which a fragment of the *astai* becomes, first a subject for variation in a sort of development section, and then the recurrent "chorus" for a new series of *tans*. This fragment forms two measures of the original *astai*:



In the *jhala* proper it appears first in a series of rhythmic variations at half its normal tempo. A passage similar to *Tan I* follows, and the *astai* appears again in its original form. In the series of *jhala tans* that follow at this point the *astai*-fragment is repeated two or three times on each appearance, thus taking the place of the full *astai* as the recurrent theme alternating with the *tans*. The incessant repetition of this short fragment is productive of an effect of concentration somewhat analogous to that of the *stretto*



Iota and Sarat Lahiri.

The instruments are, from left to right, a Sitar, a Banjo, an Esraj and a Tabla.



of a fugue. A climax is built up by insisting continuously on these two measures of the *astai* and refusing to go farther. At the end of this third large section comes the *tehai* or coda which is the most intense part of the work. Here the *astai*-fragment is not heard in its original form at all, but only in the shape of variations, increasing this time, not only in rhythmic complexity, but also in tempo. The last of these variations breaks from the fragmentary form and rushes headlong into the completion of the *astai*. This final recapitulation ends the *gath*.

For one who takes the trouble to divest himself of all harmonic and chromatic habits of thought, and who seeks to develop an appreciation of music-as-design as opposed to music-as-dynamics, the organic structure of a complicated *gath* can become a source of unending delight. It is, indeed, as perfect a time-form as a Western symphony or fugue, and is, within its monodic-rhythmic idiom, fully as complex. Reduced to its simplest terms the structure resolves itself into the following formula, A representing the *astai*, (A) the *astai*-fragment:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{1st Section (song-form)} \\
 \hline
 A + A + B + A + \text{Sancari} + A \\
 + \\
 \text{2nd Section (Tans)} \\
 \hline
 a + A + b + A + c + A + d + \text{---} \text{etc.} + A \\
 + \\
 \text{Jhala} \\
 \hline
 (A) \text{ (Fragment broken up and developed} \\
 \text{with some additional material).} \\
 + A \\
 + \\
 \text{Jhala tans} \\
 \hline
 (A) + 1 + (A) + 2 + (A) + 3 + \text{---} \text{etc.} \\
 + \text{Tehai (coda)} \\
 \hline
 (A') + (A'') + (A''') + \text{---} \text{etc.} + A
 \end{array}$$

In order, however, to achieve any notion of the actual application of this formula in the process of composition it is necessary to consider the Hindu viewpoint toward music in general. Only in very recent times have the people of India troubled to write their music down on paper. Music is, to them, something that is played, not something that is figured out in mathematical diagrams. The musician combines the duties of composer and performer without being conscious of any dual rôle. The *gath*, as we have it in notational terms, represents only one possible performance, a performance which would never be repeated with any degree of exactitude as far as the details of its structure are concerned. The Hindu musician would regard the suggestion that he play the same thing twice in the same way as an insult to his imaginative powers. His music is extemporized. But to assume that, because it is extemporized, it is devoid of structure (and highly subtle structure too), is to make a great mistake. The details will differ at each performance, but the general form of the *gath* will always remain the same. There will always be an *astai* and an *antara*, almost always a *sancari*. In this type of music there will always be *tans*—not a stipulated number, but just as many as the musician happens to feel like playing at the time. And there will always be an exciting *tehai* to finish things up with.

III.

Tala is the science of rhythm, or, more properly, of metre. East Indian musical metre is based, like ours, upon a series of equal time-units or beats, grouped into larger units, or measures. It differs from ours, however, in that the metrical units are more extended, each beat or *tal* occupying a much larger period of time than is common in Western music, and in that there is no implied dynamic accent in the Hindu measure—no distinction between strong and weak beats. The first of these peculiarities results in a great freedom of rhythmic detail, since, especially in a lively type of music, much can take place between one *tal* and the next. And on the other hand the spread of the larger metrical groups tends to give a close-knit rhythmic integrity to long monodic phrases that to our ears would seem diffuse and lacking in unity. It is as though we should conceive the measure as our basic unit, and the phrase of three, four, five, or six measures as the smallest metrical group, indicating in our time-signatures, not the number of beats to a measure, but the number of measures to a phrase. The absence of accented and unaccented beats is a natural corollary of this conception. Western music has, at least

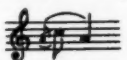
since the days of the Gregorian Chant, based its time-structure upon the rapidly recurrent dynamic rhythms of the march and dance. Indian music is rather an outgrowth of vocal phrasing. While its small rhythmic patterns may be as lively as you please, its larger time-structure is conceived in leisurely spans in which percussive accents can play no essential part.

The accompanying work is in *tintal*, that is to say, in a phrase-rhythm of four beats—or, as the Hindu conceives it, of three beats and one blank beat. *Tintal* is one of the most frequent varieties of *tala*. In "counting" it, the three beats or *tals*, commonly indicated by clapping the hands, are followed by the blank beat or *khali* which has the same value as a beat but gets no count. This series of 1 - 2 - 3 - blank, 1 - 2 - 3 - blank is regularly repeated. The second beat which is known as the *sam* has a special function. It is upon this beat, as a point of reference, that the entire structure of the work rests.

The *astai* commences with what we should call an anacrusis, just after the *khali* or blank beat, and is counted in the following manner:




This count is continued throughout the entire work. Melodically, the most important part of the *astai* is the point marked *a*. In its successive reappearance it often commences at this point, dispensing with the anacrusis of the first measure. This moment in the melody, which invariably coincides with the all-important *sam* or second beat, acts as a sort of structural guide-post. It

is distinguished by the melodic figure  and recurs at

point *b*. In the *tans* that follow later the performer improvises more or less freely, but in returning again to the *astai* he must see that this figure falls upon the *sam*. Thus, throughout his *tans*, no matter how rhythmically complex they may be, he must retain a continual consciousness of the underlying beat. If he loses track of the *sam* for an instant he is lost, and his performance will meet with ridicule. To retain one's bearings with reference to a basic beat of what amounts to $4/2$ time while playing a melody in

varying values of $3/8$, $6/16$, $3/4$, and $2/4$, as is the case in *Tan X*, is a feat of no mean order. This *tan* begins on the *sam* with alternating measures of $3/8$ and $6/16$ time, followed by a passage in triplets in $3/4$ and $2/4$. Yet if one counts the number of sixteenth-note values in the *tan* it will be found that there are exactly 128. A complete cycle of four beats of the basic metre should contain two of our $4/4$ measures or 32 sixteenth-notes. The 128 sixteenth-note values represent the equivalent of four complete cycles, and

when the distinguishing melodic feature of the *astai* 

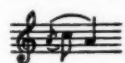
arrives, it lands with absolute precision upon the *sam*. Thus the whole *tan* is an elaborate syncopation against the underlying *tintal* metre. *Tan XIII* is similarly syncopated. Here the metre of the melody is $7/8$ except for a measure of $4/4$ at the end. This *tan* likewise commences on the *sam* and contains four complete cycles of *tintal*. Eight measures of $7/8$ plus one measure of $4/4$ (64 eighth-notes) bring the performer out exactly at the *sam* again.

This type of syncopation, which is very much like that employed by Jazz players in their "breaks," except that it is infinitely more complicated, is an essential part of the technique of *gath*. The *vina* player delights in apparently losing himself in the most abstruse counter-rhythms, leaving the listener with a sense of utter bewilderment, only to issue forth triumphantly at the *sam* again without a hair's breadth of inaccuracy, and with a sparkle of obvious satisfaction. The effect, to one who is accustomed to this idiom of expression, is that of being hurled through chaos, and then suddenly landing right side up on *terra firma* again with no bones broken and a feeling of intense relief. Such effects are, of course, peculiar to an improvisatory and monodic type of music and are inconceivable in the more deliberate idiom of the Occident. They require, moreover, a developed sense of rhythm of a sort that is by no means common among Occidental musicians.

It is in *ensemble* playing that this technique stands out in its fullest rhythmic complexity. *Gath* music is ordinarily accompanied by drumming, which in India is a highly developed art. The drummer uses two instruments, one for each hand, tapping the drum-heads with his fingers. By means of different sorts of taps he is able to produce a surprising range of subtle gradations in tone-color. His successive taps are grouped into conventionalized patterns known as *bols*. A *bol* in its simplest form may be merely a succession of equal taps indicating the metre. Each *tal* or beat

is divided into four *matras*. (In the accompanying example a *tal* is half of a 4/4 bar, the *matras* being equivalent to eighth-notes.) The simple *tintal bol* will consist of sixteen taps; one for each *matra*. The *bol* is subdivided into smaller groups (*theka*) of four taps each, four *thekas* or sixteen *matras* coinciding with one complete cycle of the metre. A really good drummer will not be content, however, with merely marking the *matras*. Like the *vina* player, he is a past master at the art of syncopation and cross-rhythm. He will start immediately to make variations on this basic metre, utilizing all his resources of rhythmic invention and instrumental timbre. Each phrase will consist of a new series of *bols* different from those of the last.

As he accompanies the *vina* or *sitar* player he embroiders a continuous cross-rhythm against the melody. The *ensemble* effect is like a sort of rhythmic counterpoint, and is carried on according to certain quite definite conventions. Here also, the *sam* or second beat plays a highly important part in regulating the rhythmic structure. The drummer, like the *vina* player, may almost lose himself in intricate syncopations, but when the *astai* of the melody recurs he must be prepared to hit the first *sam*



at precisely the same instant as his colleague. This

is his point of reference, and he must keep a sharp lookout for it. If he misses it his reputation as a drummer is sure to suffer.

It often happens among Indian musicians that a *vina* player and a drummer will engage in a friendly contest to see which can confuse the other into losing track of the *sam*. The *vina* player will improvise a melody. The drummer, to whom the melody is of course unfamiliar, must first discover where the *sam* is. Having discovered it he starts his drumming. For a while everything runs smoothly. Then the syncopation and cross-rhythm become very complex. The *vina* player uses all sorts of ruses to disguise the *sam*. He will introduce the characteristic melodic feature which distinguishes it at the wrong place. This occurs in the present example in the last three measures of *Tan XI* where the

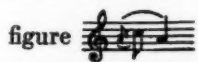


figure appears twice as a false *sam* and then finally

enters in its proper place at the beginning of the succeeding *astai*. The drummer will meanwhile seek to confuse his opponent by insisting on his cross-rhythms as though they were the true basic metre, playing in metres of seven or five against the latter's four


or three, and so on. Each one strives with might and main to retain his equilibrium. Eventually one or the other misses the *sam* and is worsted.

While such contests are mere *tours de force* and do not necessarily represent the highest type of performance, they serve admirably to illustrate the East Indian conception of rhythm. The Hindu musician takes the fixed scaffold of his traditional *gath* form, chooses his *tal* and *rag*, and then proceeds to weave about it a more or less extemporized melody which dies as it is born, never to be repeated in precisely the same way again. His rhythms are not conceived in terms of notation, and hence do not tend to degenerate into stock-in-trade *clichés*. The basic *tal* preserves the unity of his music. Meanwhile he deviates from it, piling rhythm upon rhythm. But the *sam* is always present, and eventually he must return to it. The accompanying drummer likewise deviates from the established metre, indulging himself in syncopations that may have no apparent relation to those of his colleague. Two seemingly independent streams of rhythm, each consisting in itself of a multitude of intricate cross-rhythms, follow their diverse courses. At the *sam*, however, they meet with logical precision, and the basic *tal* resumes its sway.

IV.

A few remarks relative to the individual *tans* of this *gath* may be of interest:

Tans I and II do not contain any radical departure from the basic *tal*. In the last two measures of each, however, is to be found a simple, and, in Hindu music, very common syncopation formed by superimposing a melodic rhythm of $3/4$ upon the fundamental $4/4$ metre. This effect, which is likewise frequent in Jazz (take for example the recently popular song, "I can't give

you anything but love, baby," )

is further intensified, in the present instance, by the plectrum phrasing.

Tan III starts with a phrase of ten eighth-notes. This phrase repeats, but is interrupted by the figure which ordinarily forms the anacrusis of the *astai*. Twice this figure leads up to a potential false *sam* without actually sounding it. This is one of the ruses commonly used to disconcert the accompanying drummer. On its third appearance the phrase leads as usual to the *sam* at

the beginning of the *astai*. The same effect is used at the end of *Tan V*.

The last two measures of *Tans IV*, *VI*, and *VII* respectively contain the same $\frac{3}{4}$ syncopation that is found in *Tans I* and *II*. In *Tan VII* the passage is preceded by two measures of a similar type of syncopation where the superimposed rhythm is $\frac{3}{8}$ instead of $\frac{3}{4}$.

Tans VIII and *IX* are without special interest except for the fact that they utilize portions of the *astai* as melodic material.

Tan X has been already considered. From a Western point of view it is the most complex of all, although to the Hindu musician it appears less intricate than some of the later *tans*. The principal difficulty it offers to the Western musician is the transition from the last $\frac{6}{16}$ bar to the $\frac{3}{4}$ triplets involving, as it does, a change in the value of the 16th notes. The phrases of the basic *tintal* metre are indicated by the brackets below the staff. This sort of syncopation is known as *ari*, a technical term implying the use of fractional time-values.

Tan XI is in *bek-ari* or "irregular fractional syncopation." Toward the end of this *tan* are to be found the two false *sams* before referred to.

The rhythm of *Tan XII* is called *deri*, meaning that three equal notes are substituted for four. In the first part three quarter-notes occupy the place of four *matras*; in the last, three eighth-notes occupy the place of two *matras*. At the end appears a $\frac{3}{4}$ syncopation similar to that in *Tan I*.

Tan XIII is in $\frac{7}{8}$, or what the Hindus call *dhamar*. *Dhamar* means that there are fourteen *matras* to a *tal*—in other words, fourteen sixteenth-notes to a measure. The phrases of the basic *Tintal* are indicated by brackets.

Tan XIV is in $\frac{5}{8}$ or *jhaptal*, with ten *matras* to the *tal*.

The *Jhala*, or breaking-up, has been referred to already. The rhythm of the first sixteen measures, which is notated as $\frac{8}{8}$ for the sake of simplicity, is actually in regular sequences of $\frac{3}{8} + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{2}{8}$.

The fragmentary *astai*, consisting of two measures of the original *astai* is repeated three times with slight rhythmic and melodic alterations.

The first *Jhala Tan* is, like *Tan XII*, in *deri* rhythm.

The second *Jhala Tan* is an example of the technique known as *chicari*, in which the *vina* player uses the drone as an integral part of his rhythmic scheme. This technique, which is much admired in India, demands great agility on the part of the per-

former. Two plectrums are used, one of which plays the melody, the other strumming on the drone strings. The rhythm of this passage has been indicated as 8/16. It is in regular sequences of $3/16 + 3/16 + 2/16$.

Jhala Tan III requires no comment.

Jhala Tan IV is in 3/8 and starts on *khali* or the blank beat. In order that it may start here (at the same point where the anacrusis of the *astai* ordinarily starts) the last repetition of the fragmentary *astai* has been curtailed. The number of eighth-note values then brings it out precisely at the *sam* of the ensuing *astai*.

Jhala Tan V is in *deri*.

The thematic material of the *Tehai* is drawn from the fragmentary *astai*. This section, as is customary, employs the *chicari* technique consistently up to the entrance of the final complementary part of the *astai*. The first eight measures are notated as 8/16 and follow the regular sequence $3/16 + 3/16 + 2/16$. The next eight measures consist of the same rhythm (with slight alterations) played at half the former tempo.

The anacrusis leading up to the final *sam* is syncopated almost beyond recognition, and is delivered with a flourish.

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN "THE CANTERBURY TALES"

By FRANZ MONTGOMERY

THE amiable Geoffrey Chaucer, according to his own testimony in the closing paragraph of *The Canterbury Tales*, had penned "many a song and many a lecherous lay," the loss of which we have infinite reason to regret. But even if the venerable father of English poetry had made no definite statement of the fact, we should know that in his full life he was genuinely interested in, and appreciative of, both vocal and instrumental music; for in his works he never loses an opportunity of bestowing upon his heroes and heroines some musical talent. Without the assistance of Chaucer's descriptions the history of English music in its earliest stages would be highly speculative; but by consulting his poems we may discover with considerable accuracy the musical instruments in use in his day, and the high regard in which music was then held.

Because Chaucer was, in many of his works, a translator of French and Italian writers, we should be wary of drawing definite conclusions from every reference he makes to music; but in *The Canterbury Tales*, and particularly in the Prologue to the tales, which is perhaps the least derivative of his works, we may be reasonably sure that he describes only the people and customs of England. Even in the tales which he borrowed from Continental sources, he managed to create an English atmosphere, and he certainly attributed to most of the characters only English traits and accomplishments.

Chaucer lived and wrote during the most important epoch in the history of music. Although it is impossible to set an exact date for the beginning of polyphonic music, we know that in Chaucer's time this type of music was being developed. Certainly before the eleventh century, and probably even later, all music had been "one-voiced"; that is, no such thing as harmony, or singing and playing in chords, was known. Instruments were considered only as aids to the voice, and the possibility of combining them into an orchestra was hardly thought of. Then, somehow, someone discovered that a pleasing sensation resulted from the singing of a chant, or plain-song, in thirds or fifths—and

harmony was born: certainly a crude and unruly kind of harmony, but the first step toward later developments.

Chaucer, keen observer and consummate artist that he was, excelled at character portrayal, and it is little to be wondered that he made use of music and instruments as aids in these characterizations of the Canterbury pilgrims. It is with this inimitable group of English folk and their tales that this paper is concerned.

Our modern generic names for musical instruments are far too specific to be applied to their predecessors. The present-day distinction between "brass" and "wood-winds" was unknown in the fourteenth century, so that only three broad classifications are possible: Percussion, Wind, and Strings. Chaucer mentions only one instrument of the first class, the naker, which was a drum. I shall here attempt to describe, under the general headings of Wind Instruments and Stringed Instruments, all of the musical instruments mentioned in *The Canterbury Tales*.

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Except for the organ and the bagpipe, all of the wind instruments in *The Canterbury Tales* may best be described by the modern name "horn." They varied in shape, size, and material, but all conformed to the same general principle. As musical instruments they were far inferior to the strings, for the mediæval ear was greatly impressed by mere noise, and in the blaring of the horns that barbarous taste was gratified. In fact, the most important use of the horn was martial: horns summoned the warriors; horns announced the arrival of heroes; horns sounded signals; but for the making of real music, they were almost useless. In spite of their similarity in sound and function, however, they bore various names.

Bugle

The Bugle was a horn in the truest sense of the word, for it was usually only the hollowed-out horn of an animal. When the tip end of the horn was cut off, no other mouthpiece was necessary. Attached to the belt or hanging by a string around the neck, the bugle was carried chiefly by foresters and soldiers for signalling purposes. It had another, and an even more practical function, however, as two lines from the Franklin's Tale show:

Janus sit by the fire, with double berd,
And drinketh of the bugle-horn the wine.¹

¹Fr. T. (F) 1252-3.

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The bugle made an excellent drinking cup, and it was customary, in the robust carouses of the time, for each reveller to indicate that the draught was finished by blowing his bugle; thus proving conclusively that no drop remained in it.

Clarion

The Clarion was similar in shape to the modern bugle, the tube curving back on itself; but the older instrument was a large horn. Pictures show it to have been some three or four feet long, and it must have been capable of producing an ear-splitting blast. It seems to have been used chiefly for the purpose of frightening the enemy in battle. The Knight, describing the clamor of the tournament in his tale, mentions:

Pypes, trompes, nakers, clariounes,
That in the bataille blowne bloody sounes.¹

Flute

There is some question about Chaucer's use of the word "fluting." In his portrait of the lusty young squire occurs the line:

Singinge he was, or floytinge, al the day.²

It has been suggested that the word here means whistling, but since Chaucer elsewhere mentions the flute, it seems reasonable to believe that the squire was really a musician. The flutes of the next century were simple contrivances, little more than hollow reeds with six or seven finger holes.

Horn

Horn and Bugle were probably used interchangeably by Chaucer. Horns appear three times in *The Canterbury Tales*. The Yeoman bore "an horn";³ in the Knight's Tale Theseus starts on his hunting trip:

With hunte and horn, and houndes him biside,⁴

¹Kn. T. (A) 2511-2.

²Prol. (A) 91.

³Prol. (A) 116.

⁴Kn. T. (A) 1678.

and the Man of Law, in his tale, excuses himself from a long description of the wedding of King Alla and Constance with the lines:

What sholde I tellen of the royaltee
At mariage, or which cours gooth biforn,
Who bloweth in a trompe or in an horn?¹

These lines give the horn and trumpet a social function as well as a military one.

Trumpet

The Trumpet was different from the horn only in shape. It was usually a long, conical tube with a bell at the end. It was made of many different materials, as a quotation from the Nun's Priest's Tale will show:

Of bras they broughten bemes, and of box,
Of horn, of boon, in which they blewe and pouped.²

Beme and trumpet were synonymous, of course.

The fact that the Knight mentions trumpets at five different places in his tale shows that they were mainly used in combat. In the Knight's Tale, a blast of trumpets celebrates the announcement of the humane rules of the tournament,³ signals the combatants to begin,⁴ and announces the victory of Arcite.⁵ No further commentary upon their use is necessary.

Pipe

The Pipe was no doubt the earliest instrument of the horn variety. It is mentioned in the literature of the very ancient nations. In Chaucer's time the pipe family was large, but all were constructed on the "willow whistle" principle. They ranged in size from a short, hollow reed to long tubes of horn and wood, and they had as many finger-holes as the whim or technique of their players would permit. The pipe, however, seems seldom to have accompanied its brother instruments to battle; it could hardly compete with the strident clarion and trumpet; so we usually find it in the hands of civilians. Describing the accomplished miller in his tale, the Reve says that

Pipen he coude and fissehe, and netes bete,⁶

¹M. L. T. (B) 703-5.

²N. P. T. (B) 4589-90.

³Kn. T. (A) 2565

⁴*ibid.* 2600.

⁵*ibid.* 2671.

⁶R. T. (A) 3927.

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and the pipe is found in a sylvan setting when the giant announces to Sir Thopas that in this wood dwells the Fairy Queen:

With harpe and pype and simphonie.¹

Bagpipe

The Bagpipe is an exceedingly ancient wind instrument, having been used in the classic days of Greece. It is fairly simple in principle, consisting of a leather bag, or wind-container, filled from the mouth by a tube. The bagpipe of Chaucer's time had only two sound-tubes, one with six or seven finger-holes, and the other playing a single note, or "drone." The modern instrument is different only in the number of drone-pipes, and probably sounds much the same. Of the Miller on the pilgrimage, Chaucer says,

A baggepype wel coude he blowe and sowne,
And ther-with-al he broghte us out of towne.²

A curious reason for the use of the bagpipe in pilgrimages is to be found in the records of a trial occurring shortly after Chaucer's death:

I say to thee that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and pipers, that whan one of them striketh his toe upon a stone and hurteth hym sore, and maketh hym to blede; it is well done that he or his fellow begyn then a songe, or else take out of his bosome a baggepype for to drive away with soche myrthe the hurte of his fellow.³

Organ

In the fourteenth century, the organ was little more than a bagpipe with added drones of different lengths. The organ is of great antiquity, and the principle by which it operates has remained the same. The early organ had two or three sets of bellows. These were operated by boys or young men about the church. The wind from the bellows was released by sliding keys back from the ends of the tubes. These tubes were of different lengths, and the wind in them, of course, produced different tones. The organ required several players if the song wandered over a very wide range of notes. In Chaucer's time, the organ had a range of not over two octaves, and it was used chiefly to follow the voices

¹Th. T. (B) 2005.

²ProL. (A) 565-6.

³Chappell, W. *Music of the Olden Time*, I, 36.

of the singers. That the organ was always associated with the church is apparent from the following quotation:

His vois was merier than the mery orgon
On messe-dayes that in the chirche gon.¹

Organs were also used in celebrating the marriage ceremony, for the Second Nun tells of the marriage of Cecilia:

... whyl the organs maden melodye.²

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

In the fourteenth century, as at present, the wind instruments were chiefly associated with the arts of war, while the stringed instruments were always to be found in peaceful company. The ancient trumpets and horns served well to frighten enemies and to recall soldiers, but for the more civilized pastimes of love-making, singing, and dancing, they lacked finesse. In the discussion of the stringed instruments, then, we deal with the gentle arts of peace.

Citole

The Citole had a small pear-shaped or oval body, a flat back, and a short neck; it usually had four wire strings, and was played either with the fingers or with a plectrum or "pick." This instrument passed out of use very early in England; Chaucer mentions it only once, in his description of the statue of Venus which adorned the great stadium in the Knight's Tale:

A citole in her right hand hadde she.³

It seems probable that even in Chaucer's time the citole had passed out of general use, and that the term had only a poetic connotation.

Fiddle

(Ribible or Rubible)

Because the forms and functions of the instruments were not very definite, the names were inclined to vary. The best example of this variation is found in the three names applied to the viol: Fiddle, Ribible, or Rubible. The modern violin is a direct descendant of this older instrument, and it has changed but little

¹N. P. T. (B) 4041-2.

²S. N. T. (G) 134.

³Kn. T. (A) 1959.

The Musical Instruments in "The Canterbury Tales" 445

in the five hundred years. It had a pear-shaped body, two small sound holes, and four strings, and was played with an arched bow. About Chaucer's time, the hour-glass shape was found to aid the manipulation of the bow, and that shape came to be the accepted one. The fiddle seems not to have enjoyed its modern place as king of the strings, for the jolly Absolon of the Miller's Tale could dance,

And playen songes on a small rubible;¹

the disreputable apprentice of the Cook's Tale, Perkin Revelour, was an unreliable person,

Al konne he pleye on giterne or ribible;²

and the learned Clerk of Oxenford preferred books of philosophy to "fithele or gay sautrye."³

Gittern

The Gittern, which was the ancestor of the modern guitar, seems to have been a favorite instrument with minstrels and love-sick serenaders. It is a difficult instrument to describe. Like the modern guitar, it had a large body, although in the fourteenth century the sides were perfectly straight. The neck of the instrument was short, and it curved over backwards, forming a sort of crook for the hand. This crook was usually decorated with carved figures. The gittern had four strings, probably of gut, and was plucked with fingers or plectrum. The Miller's Tale gives us a most delightful account of a serenade. Absolon makes love to the Carpenter's wife:

The moone, whan it was night, ful brighte shoon,
And Absolon his giterne hath y-take.⁴

He sings a song at his mistress' window, and his voice is:

Ful wel acordaunt to his giterninge.⁵

Harp

The Harp seems to have existed in England in many forms. Most pictures show it to have been a triangular instrument, held on the knees, steadied with one hand and plucked with the

¹M. T. (A) 3331.

²Ck. T. (A) 4396.

³Prol. (A) 296.

⁴M. T. (A) 3353-4.

⁵*ibid.* 3363.

other. The number of strings varied with the size of the instrument, from six or seven to eighteen or twenty. It seems to have been a favorite for singing and dancing, and it must have been used by all classes of people. The Friar could play it, for Chaucer says of him:

And in his harping, whan that he had songe,
His eyen twinkled in his heed aright,
As doon the sterres in the frosty night.¹

The Wife of Bath recalls that in her youth:

Wel coude I daunce to an harpe smale,²

The Pardoner seems to feel that the harp is an instrument of the devil, for he mentions it twice in describing a company of riotous people:

Wher-as with harpes, lutes, and giternes,
They daunce and pleye at dees bothe day and night,³

and again:

Singers with harpes, baudes, wafereres,
Which been the varray develes officeres.⁴

Psaltery

The Psaltery bore a rather close resemblance to the modern zither. It had a variety of shapes, but in Chaucer's time seems to have been rectangular, or nearly so. It was a shallow box which had no top. Across the opening, gut strings were stretched. Like the harp, it had as many strings as the size of the instrument and the skill of the player would permit. It was usually laid flat on the knees and plucked with both hands. The psaltery, too, was an exceedingly popular instrument for serenading. The Miller describes the furnishings of the room of the wily Nicholas:

And al above ther lay a gay sautrye,
On which he made a nightes melodye
So swetely, that al the chambre rong.⁵

Later in the story Nicholas makes love to the Carpenter's wife in this fashion:

He kist her swete, and taketh his sautrye,
And pleyeth faste, and maketh melodye.⁶

¹Prol. (A) 266-8.

²W. B. Pr. (D) 457.

³Pard. T. (C) 465-6.

⁴*Ibid.* 479-80.

⁵M. T. (A) 3213-15.

⁶*Ibid.* 3305-6.

Lute

The Lute was a very popular instrument in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in Chaucer's time it was a rather crude counterpart of the modern mandolin. It had a pear-shaped body and a long neck. The strings were arranged in pairs tuned in unison, and were plucked with a pick. The sets of strings varied from four to six. The heads of the lutes were usually bent back at an angle with the neck, thus offering more resistance to the strings. Chaucer mentions the lute only twice, both times in company with other stringed instruments; once in the Pardoner's Tale (see p. 446), and once in describing the sorrow of the jealous Phoebus after having killed his wife:

For sorwe of which he brak his minstralcy,
Both harp, and lute, and giterne, and sautrye.¹

Rote

The Rote had so many forms, and so many names, that much difference of opinion is found concerning it. At least three different instruments were called rotes, and which one Chaucer referred to is only a matter of guesswork. In its simplest form it was little more than a small, rectangular harp with six or seven strings. Other forms of the instrument had four strings and could be played with a bow. It seems probable that Chaucer refers to the small harp the only time he mentions the instrument. Describing the talented Friar, he says:

And certainly he hadde a mery note;
Wel coude he singe and pleyen on a rote.²

Symphony

The Symphony probably marks the high point of mediæval musical ingenuity. It seems to have been the father of the modern hurdy-gurdy, for it operated on exactly the same principle. It consisted of a box, along the top of which ran three or four strings. In the place of a fingerboard, the symphony had a keyboard. By a system of levers, wooden bars were made to press down on the strings at regular intervals, thus allowing the musician to play a scale. Instead of a bow, a wheel was used to scrape the strings. This wheel was located near the foot of the box, and was turned

¹Manc. T. (H) 267-8.

²Prol. (A) 235-6.

by a crank which protruded from the end. Chaucer mentions this instrument only once.¹

Such were the instruments on which the Canterbury pilgrims played. Chaucer's catalogue is almost complete. Besides the seventeen instruments mentioned in *The Canterbury Tales* we may, in Middle English literature, find references to the Shawm (oboe), the Sackbut (trombone), the Dulcimer (cymbalom), and a few others; but without question Chaucer's chief work names every important instrument in general use in his time.

We may only speculate about the technical ability of the musicians, and the melodies they played; but if the tunes were as jolly as the words they accompanied, we may well mourn the passing of these primitive but robust instruments.

¹Th. T. (B) 2005, quoted on p. 443.

GUSTAV MAHLER

By HANS HOLLÄNDER

THE problem of Gustav Mahler has at times been considered a question of race. The fact that he was a Jew (so ran the argument) lent his works their special physiognomy, their peculiar spiritual and intellectual characteristics. Such argument attaches too much importance to the psychic predisposition undoubtedly induced by his race which, however strongly marked it may have been in Mahler's case, had a very limited influence on his purely artistic work; about as much influence, say, as with Schönberg or Mendelssohn. The essence of Mahler's musical nature is not to be explained simply by the Jewish element in his personality; although, if this element fructified his music, it may have done so through his natural predilection for metaphysics, through the ardor wherewith he sought to spiritualize his life and works to the ultimate extent. Whatever was purely musical in Mahler's art—his melodies and rhythms (the employment of folk-songs and popular marches and dances), certain instrumental effects he was fond of using in all his creative periods, notably his liking for brass and percussion instruments, and his leaning toward polyphonic ("linear") writing—all this was rooted in his Austrianism, in the various national influences that determined the course of his education. It is as good as certain that Mahler never introduced Jewish melodies into his works, for neither in his youth nor in later years did he have opportunity to hear them. The chants of the synagogue were equally unfamiliar to him as the child of free-thinking parents and as the Catholic of a maturer period who never visited a Jewish temple, the music of which could therefore never come in question as an inspiration for his own. Very vague, too, and quite unfounded is the assumption that in Mahler's melodies and rhythms, more particularly in his oft-recurring march-rhythms, characteristic of ancient Jewish chants, there is an atavistic turning to primeval folk-music. Mahler's musical individuality is manifestly grounded in the Germanic and Slavic folk-music of his homeland, to which must be added the strong influence of military marches and signals. The synthetic blending of diverse national influences—typical of the Austrian creative temperament, as in Mozart and Schubert—is realized anew in Mahler. Let us consider his youthful years, during which he was to assimilate these varied inspirations.

If we imagine the cities of Vienna and Prague to be connected on the map by a straight line, we shall find not far from the middle of this line the ancient Moravian town of Iglau. In earlier times it was a place of importance; the surrounding hill-country contained rich mineral deposits, and these, together with an extensive textile industry, afforded the inhabitants ample means of subsistence. The fame of the townsfolk of Iglau still lives in the tradition of the esteemed Meistersinger-school which existed there from the middle of the sixteenth century until 1620; it played a conspicuous part beside the great Meistersinger-centres of Germany. Iglau maintained its cultural importance down to the beginning of the nineteenth century; a report of the local Musikverein in 1827 announces the performance of the "musical novelties" *Fidelio* and Beethoven's Second Symphony! But with the extension of railway facilities and the exhaustion of mining possibilities, the importance of the city steadily waned, and a provincial sluggishness, a lack of fresh impulses, gradually overspread it. However, through its position halfway between Vienna and Prague it maintained its significance as a boundary point between the linguistic regions of pure German on the one side and pure Slavic on the other.

Mahler was born on the 1st (or 7th) of July, 1860, in the little village of Kalischt, situated in the Slavic (Bohemian) portion of the Iglau district. The date is in doubt, because all records of this period concerning the family are apparently lost. His parents were village folk belonging to the restless Jewish mercantile type which at that time differed so sharply from the rest of the peasantry. Mahler's youth coincides precisely with the epoch of Jewish emancipation, the gradual inception of a free Jewish citizenry. In Bernhard Mahler, his father, this social and mental evolution is plainly symbolized. He began as a carter, going from place to place, as a young man, with horse and wagon, at the same time studying and reading all sorts of books, and learning French for his own pleasure. In the next phase he appears as an employee in divers enterprises, besides which he is called as private tutor into various houses. A tenacious energy lives in this broad-shouldered man, paired with an inflexibility and simple dignity in matters of morality. The mother, Marie (née Herrmann), was a gentle soul, rather introspective, a lover of art and having the subtler spiritual development of her children at heart. Gustav's temperament was thus predetermined in the natures of his parents.

With two sons, the younger being Gustav, the parents removed to Iglau in the autumn of 1860. They acquired a liquor-shop, and

some years later, to accommodate a family that had meantime grown numerous (eleven children), the neighboring house (Pirnitzergasse 6). The roomy courtyard, the garrets of the sprawling houses, the cellars and storerooms, held a world of romance for the boy Gustav, evoking in his spirit dim presages and fantastic pictures. Among the children who gathered here for play, the pale and weakly Gustav Mahler was a leader. He suggested new games, was the strict arbiter of discipline and order. At the age of four he received from his parents an accordion, on which he played familiar tunes with surprising skill. Not long thereafter he discovered in the house of relatives an old piano, from which he refused to be lured for long hours at a time. From now on music became the decisive factor in his development. He seized on that nearest at hand—folk-music, crude street-songs, the plaintively sensuous ditties of the Bohemian menials, the traditional round-lays of the German peasantry, called "Hatschon," performed in summer in specially prepared circular clearings in the forests. In these round dances something of the spirit of the ancient German *Springtänze* still survives.

In the second movement of his *First Symphony* Mahler intentionally uses these dance-impressions symphonically for the first time. Military music, drum-signals, and trumpet-calls exercised a strong influence on him. The stirring brass, the rhythms of marches and drum-beats, acted as a stimulus to the brooding provincial boy, and remained even with the mature artist, who found in them an outlet for the abrupt explosions of his nervous reactivity.

Mahler considered these youthful years in Iglau as the most important in his psychic development. This narrow frame contained, in embryo, everything that in later life crystallized into his broad cosmic philosophy, half pantheistic, half Christian. There were the contacts with nature, to which he gave himself up unreservedly. The widespread ranges of hills, the restful forests, the numerous streams and lakelets round about Iglau—among these he could wander for days, lost in his visions. In nature he found the image of an all-embracing love, which taught him compassion for all created things, and which was musically symbolized for him in melody, harmony, and tone-color. The *Third Symphony*, also parts of the *Fourth* and, not least, the finale of the *Eighth*, are Mahler's great salute to nature and to eternal love in the universe. Early in life this pantheistic trend received an important impetus through the Christian doctrine of redemption. As the boy chose Jean Paul for his intellectual guide, the ripening man attached

himself to the world of Dostojevsky with its disdain of life. The question in *The Brothers Karamasov*, "How can I be happy, while anywhere some other being still suffers?" becomes the undertone in his later creative work.

While yet a boy, he was stirred by the thrill of religious experience. At the outset, the pomp of Catholic ceremony made a deep impression on his youthful spirit; on holidays the *regens chori* of the parish church, Heinrich Fischer (whose son was Mahler's favorite playfellow and schoolmate), took him into the choir, where he became familiar with Haydn's *Sieben Worte*, Mozart's *Requiem*, Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, and other sacred compositions. From such impressions Mahler the musician surely gained much of value for the treatment of choir and orchestra in his subsequent work. And his spiritual life—its metaphysical bent finding no furtherance at home, for his freethinking father shut the door upon every religious usage of traditional Hebraism—strikes deep roots in the mystic glory of ecclesiastical symbolism. His later conversion to Catholicism (Hamburg, 1895) only marks the consummation of an evolution: the experience of Christianity, which he grasped with the fervency and intimate understanding of the Jewish nature, and adopted as the basic principle of his lifework. His was a Christianity, be it noted, which does not hymn a merely sentimental fraternity of mankind, but—in the words of his widow, Alma Maria Mahler—takes for its subject the lonely human soul crying for redemption. The beginning of his struggle with the world is tragically and passionately agitated (finale of the *First Symphony*; first movement of the *Second Symphony*), yet filled with the belief in a blessed promise according to the introductory words of the "Urlicht" (fourth movement of the *Second Symphony*): "Ich bin von Gott und will wieder zu Gott" (I am of God and will return to God); and its close is tragically resigned, as in the last movement of the *Lied von der Erde*:

Wohin ich geh? Ich gehe in die Berge.
Ich suche Ruhe für mein einsam Herz!
Ich wandle nach der Heimat, meiner Stätte!
Ich werde niemals in die Ferne schweifen. . . .

Within these bounds his work moves—a never-ending struggle for the reconciliation of the tragically isolated individual (*Fifth* and *Sixth Symphonies*) with the universe, with all created beings in God (*Third, Fourth, Seventh, Eighth Symphonies*).

But this mystical experience had been prepared in his early youth by fairy-tales and a naïve delight of a popular sort in nature and music-making. Jean Paul and German romanticism—in the

rose-colored, travelling-journeyman tales of the "Wunderhorn"—and the legends of the neighboring countryside constituted the material for his earliest creative attempts. Even as a child he had heard the "Ballade vom Brudermord" (Ballad of the Fratricide) as told by a kitchen-maid, to whom he listened with unwearying zest. At 17 he took this ballad as the basis of his work *Das Klagende Lied* (poem originally in three sections). A fairy-opera, *Rübezahl*, a symphonic poem, *Nordische Symphonie* (later suppressed by Mahler), two sketches for operas, *Herzog Ernst von Schwaben* and *Die Argonauten* (*Das Klagende Lied* was also originally intended for dramatic presentation), were the first-fruits of his awakening powers. The youthful Mahler's development as a pianist was extraordinary; at ten he gave his first public concert, concerning which the local sheet ("Iglauer Blatt") made the following report:

On Oct. 13, 1870, there was by way of exception *abonnement suspendu*, for the reason that a nine-year-old boy, the son of a local Israelite tradesman named Mahler, made his first appearance as a pianist before a large audience. The applause evoked by the future piano-virtuoso from his audience was hearty and well-earned; one could only wish that his good playing might have been seconded by an equally good instrument. When our rising artist's former teacher, Herr Kapellmeister Viktorin, hears of yesterday's success, he may certainly be pleased with his pupil.

One notes the spirit of provincialism in these lines; here already begins, all unconsciously, Mahler's struggle against the depressing, lukewarm self-sufficiency of an atmosphere whose influence it required years for him to shake off. His instructors in Iglau were worthy men honorably plying their trade: the 'cellist Sladky, conductor Viktorin of the theatre, and piano-teacher Brosch. Through them (all probably of Slavic origin), their pupil was brought into contact with that lusty type of Bohemian folk-music which was to be so happily blended with the ponderous element in his psychic make-up. In after-years, as an opera-conductor, he became a devoted champion of Czech music; we recall his advocacy of J. B. Foerster (just turned 70) in Hamburg, and of Smetana (*Dalibor*, *Der Kuss*, *Die verkaufte Braut*) in Hamburg, Vienna, even in New York (*The Bartered Bride*). His fondness for the drastic features of folk-music (e.g., in the *First Symphony*, third movement, which elaborates a Slavic folk-tune as its theme), for a clear, warmly emotional melodic voice-leading, and—last but not least—his insistence on a sovereign command of craftsmanship, are results of that famous Bohemian spirit of musicianli-

ness, the importance of which for the evolution of the classical symphony Romain Rolland has so gracefully appreciated in his "Musiciens d'autrefois" (p. 95).

The general assumption of the biographers that Gustav Mahler gained familiarity with the current operatic works only during his practical activity as conductor is to be revised, inasmuch as he can hardly have missed the numerous performances of operas in his native town. The repertory of the Iglau theatre from 1870 to 1880 included, among others, *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *Fidelio*, *Der Freischütz*, *Faust*, *Ernani*, *Il Trovatore*, besides many ballad-operas. Mahler, who had himself once conducted Suppé's *Boccaccio* in Iglau, must have been present at these productions, and have embodied the impressions thus gained in his later practical activities. The unbending fanatic in the service of art already betrays himself in this early *Boccaccio* performance; he calls one of the leading ladies "the shallowest creature among women that I've met with for a long time"; and the "Iglau Blatt" praised the "precision of the ensembles" and the "incisive conducting" of this performance.

Mahler's parents, who were quick to recognize their son's extraordinary talent and anxious withal to give their children the best education, had the 15-year-old Gustav enrolled in the Vienna Conservatory, where he first of all studied the piano under Julius Epstein, thereafter taking up theory and composition with Hellmesberger and Krenn and also for a time with Anton Bruckner, his relation with the latter ripening into a sort of friendship. The close of his three-year course was crowned by the award of the Conservatory's first prize for a quintet-movement, which, together with a sonata for violin and piano, he produced in Iglau on Sept. 12, 1876. This was Mahler's first public appearance as a composer. Meanwhile, as a special student at the Iglau gymnasium, he passed his final examinations with the greatest difficulty and only after reëxamination in the autumn of 1877. He received good marks only in religion and philosophical propædeutics; in all other branches his independent and alert mind barely met the lowest requirements for a certificate of maturity in the local preparatory-school. After this he attended lectures of the philosophical faculty in the University of Vienna, but very irregularly. In his intercourse with congenial comrades of lofty aspiration (first among them the poetically gifted Siegfried Lipiner) his striving after higher education was intensified; here too he laid the foundation of many loyal, life-long friendships, notably with E. Freund, F. Löhr, and the Krzanovsky brothers.

Hurrah! Wenn Leute beneiden
ich für, so sagt Ihnen gut im
besser als voriges Jahr! Was ist so ein
vielversprechendes Jahr! Dafür müssen
Sie mir noch viel belobt werden.
Ich habe intercedieren müssen "Don Juan"
entfunden, und Maria mir ein
Boni mir ein persönliches Hoch zu setzen.
Müßte Jahr ist es um den Hochzeit-
Gel.

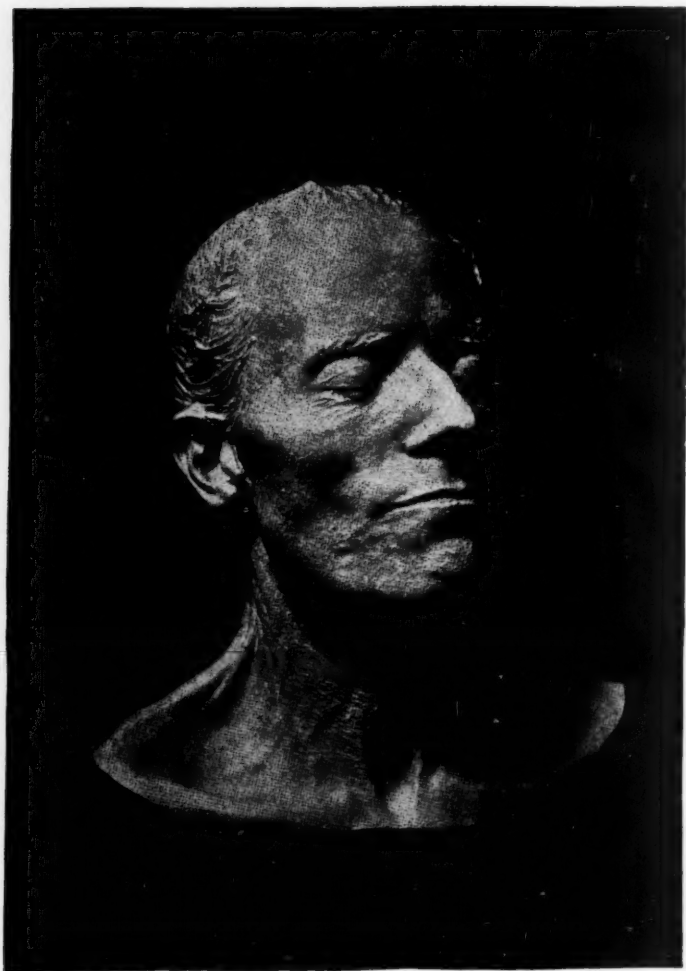
Ein Winkeln für ich so viel von
Herrn meinet, was es Ihnen
gibt? Adresse: Maiernigg am Wörthersee
via Klagenfurt.

Mit, mit Gröbe! H.

Gustav Mahler

The Two Sides of a Card Written on Stationery of the Director of the Royal and
Imperial Opera House, Vienna, with the word, "Director," stricken
out and "Slave" substituted by Mahler.

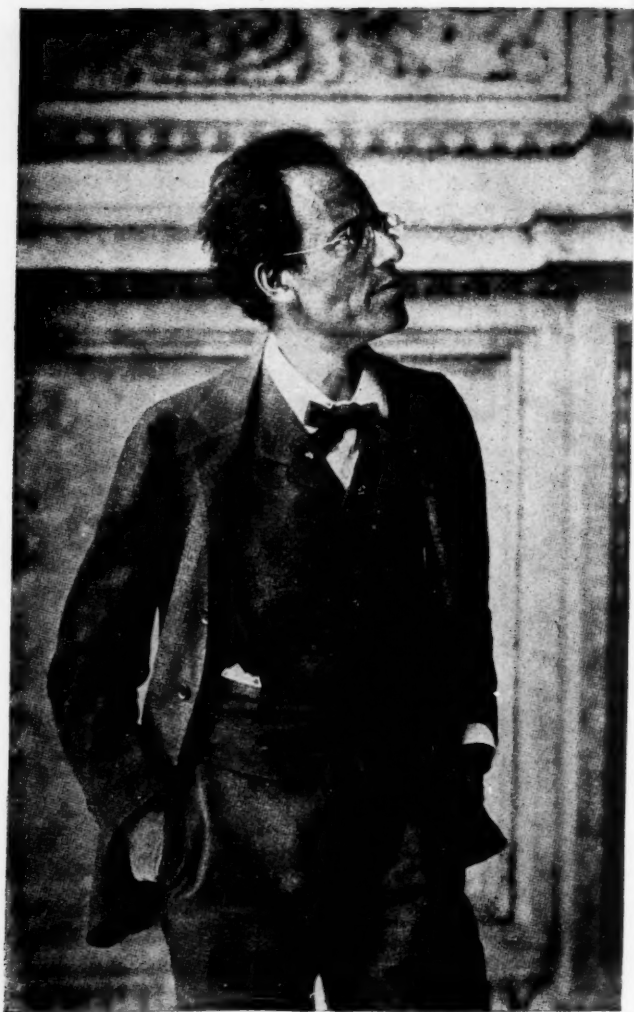
(By courtesy of the Library of Congress.)



Death Mask of Gustav Mahler.
(Taken by Karl Moll, May 18, 1911.)



Bust of Gustav Mahler by Rodin (1910).



Mahler in the Foyer of the Hofoper, Vienna.

(Photograph, 1907, by Moriz Nähr.)

The following periods of Mahler's career, treated by other biographers in greater detail than his youth, may be passed over more rapidly. His early activities as a conductor were only provincial in scope. A more than modest summer engagement (*Gastspiel*) in Hall, a small resort in the Alps, gave him employment for a few weeks in 1880; it is said that the flimsy wooden construction of the theatre rendered it unfit for occupancy in bad weather. Here Mahler had to conduct operettas for the fee of a few gulden. His next position (1881-2), at the municipal theatre in Laibach (now Yugoslavia), was not much better. In this town he found good friends, in whose home he lived and with whom he could consort on equal terms: the family of a highly gifted student-friend in the Conservatory, Anton Krisper, the unhappy victim of an incurable disease. His next position was at Olmütz (1882-3), a small, ancient town in Moravia, of a type much resembling Iglau. Here the theatre already possessed something like an operatic repertory, which even included works by Mozart and Wagner. Mahler, the ardent disciple of Wagner's teachings (the influence of which made him during these years a strict vegetarian), promptly contrived to banish these two masters from the repertory; "for I could not bear just to beat time for *Lohengrin* or *Don Giovanni* in such a place," he wrote at the time. In Olmütz he conducted Meyerbeer, Verdi, *Carmen*, and Méhul's *Joseph*.

The crippling inadequacies of these provincial stages—he was forever deploring the "perversity of the object" added to the "perversity of the subject"—could in no wise cool his zeal for the ideal in art. On the contrary, they only served to incite still more passionate effort on his part: "... only the feeling that I am suffering for my masters and may possibly sometime inject a spark of their fire into the souls of these poor people, steels my courage," he declares to a friend. His demand for unconditional merging of self in work grows more and more peremptory the oftener he meets, in theatrical management, with the spirit of compromise and a clinging to unsound tradition. The flame of his own genius endued him with steely intolerance and incorruptibility as a reproductive artist; a characteristic which was not only reinforced with the ripening of his artistic personality, but was always most evident where the resources for a perfect production were at hand but still for some reason or other not utilized to the full. It was during his directorship of the Vienna Court Opera, the leading operatic institute of that period, that Mahler was exposed to the most violent abuse because of what was termed his tyrannical disposition. But here he required the utmost where, by reason of

organization and material resources, the utmost was capable of realization.

Following a brief interval as choir-director during an Italian *stagione* at the Carl Theatre in Vienna, the years 1883-5 at Kassel find him already advanced to the post of Royal Music Director. He had previously paid a visit to Bayreuth, where the high perfection of the productions served to intensify his own lofty endeavors. Although in Kassel, too, he was hampered by the insufficient means, the stage in this little German capital nevertheless afforded more favorable artistic conditions than he had found in the provincial Austrian theatres. Here he conducted *Hans Heiling* (a work highly esteemed by him throughout his career), *Robert le Diable*, *Der Rattenfänger*, etc.; the classical works, more especially Wagner's, were not within his province as second conductor. It was also in Kassel that Mahler, through an unfortunate love-affair with a singer, received the inspiration for his *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*. In this case, as with *Das klagende Lied*, he himself was the poet; it is an interesting fact, that the last poem in the cycle of the *fahrende Gesellen* had been preceded three years earlier by the emotional poem *Vergessene Liebe*, likewise founded on ill-fated love and the resolve to grasp the wayfarer's staff and seek consolation in the wide world. On account of this interesting relation we quote the close of each of these two poems, which, born of different occasions, exhibit the same poetic reaction. (The poem *Vergessene Liebe* was discovered by the present writer among the unpublished youthful letters of Mahler, and made public for the first time in September, 1928, in "Die Musik.")

"VERGESSENE LIEBE," Verses 3 and 4.

Mein Wanderstab! Noch einmal heut'	Wie lieblich lüchelt Berg und Tal
Komm' aus der Ecken!	In Blütenwogen!
Schliefst Du auch lang! Nun sei bereit!	Kam ja mit seinem süßen Schall
Ich will Dich wecken!	Der Lenz gezogen!
Ich trug es lang, mein Liebesleid,	Und Blumen blüh'n ja überall
Und ist die Erde noch so weit,	Und Kreuzlein steh'n ja überall—
So komm', mein treuer Stecken!	Die haben nicht ² gelogen!

"LIEDER EINES FAHRENDEN GESELLEN," No. 4.

Die zwei blauen Augen von meinem Schatz,
 Die haben mich in die weite Welt geschickt.
 Da musst' ich Abschied nehmen
 Vom allerliebsten Platz! . . .
 Ich bin ausgegangen in stiller Nacht
 Wohl über die dunkle Heide;
 Hat mir niemand Ade gesagt,
 Mein Gesell war Lieb und Leide.

Auf der Strasse steht ein Lindenbaum,
Da hab' ich die erste Nacht geruht!
Der hat seine Blüten über mich geschneit—
Da wusst' ich nicht wie das Leben tut,
War alles wieder gut,
Lieb und Leid und Welt und Traum!

Concurrently with these songs Mahler conceived the *First Symphony*, the first movement of which presents a symphonic working-out of the first "Gesellen-Lied," while the third movement elaborates a portion of the last song. A short occasional piece, the music to tableaux vivants after Scheffel's *Trompeter von Säckingen*, was also a modest fruit of the two years in Kassel.

For the season of 1885-8 Mahler was in Prague as chief conductor at the National Theatre (Landestheater). Here more congenial tasks awaited him. Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, composed expressly for Prague, was entrusted to him for revival in revised form (an especial mark of confidence on the part of the director, Angelo Neumann). He was later to undertake a similar task with *Meistersinger*, *Rheingold*, *Walküre*, *Siegfried*, and *Tristan*. At 26, this position enabled him, for the first time in his artistic career, to apply himself to work commensurate with his capacity; it was a year full of enthusiasm, and he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his collaborators and the warm recognition of his audiences. The close of the season was crowned by a performance of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, for the preparation of which Mahler could command but a single rehearsal, and the success of which on the eve of his departure earned him an address of thanks signed by many names prominent in Prague society.

On account of an earlier engagement Mahler was now obliged to transfer his activities during 1886-8 to Leipzig, where he held the position of second conductor to Artur Nikisch. The frequent concert-tours of the latter, however, made the younger man assume *de facto* the duties of chief conductor; even in direct association with Nikisch his function was that not of a subordinate, but of a conductor on an equal footing. In Leipzig Mahler presided over productions of *Rienzi*, *Der fliegende Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Der Freischütz*, *Les Huguenots* and *Fidelio* (the overture being once stormily applauded for a full minute)—all works otherwise within the domain of the chief conductor. But among the factors contributing to the success of his Leipzig period, the most important was the revision and completion of Weber's unfinished opera *Die drei Pintos*. The material was put into shape in a few weeks; Mahler had filled in Weber's sketches of certain

passages and worked out various numbers in keeping with Weber's original motives, but he had also newly composed entire sections, and it was with these latter that he won the greatest applause at the première of the opera on Jan. 20, 1888. Artistically, socially, and financially, as well, this event marks the culminating point of his career till then. The musical public had awaited this work with the greatest eagerness; the performance was attended by representative musicians from the larger cities; an offer for the rights of reproduction speedily arrived from America. An intimate relation was established with the Weber family, by whom Mahler had been commissioned to finish the work. Cosima Wagner, in a long letter to Levi, expressed the warmest appreciation, and Saxony's King and Queen found frequent opportunity to honor him publicly. Mahler, who had hitherto lived in rather straitened circumstances, having always taken care of his relatives in the most loyal and generous manner, now found himself enabled to live on a more lavish scale. But even now he made over the greater portion of his profits from the opera—he received as honorarium, not including the later royalties, the sum of 10,000 marks—and restricted himself to the use of his salary as Kapellmeister.

On the expiration of his contract he left Leipzig, following a call as director of the Royal Opera House in Budapest. This position was an exceedingly brilliant one. Mahler was director with "unlimited authority"; he had a large income, and a vacation of four months, during which he devoted himself to composition. The buoyant temperament of the Hungarian capital exercised a favorable influence on his spirits and his zeal for work. He had taken over the theatre when it was sadly run down owing to incompetent management. His task was to carry on the newly created Hungarian National Opera with native talent and in the language of the country—a task most admirably carried out in the face of the "star" and "guest" system that had theretofore prevailed. He threw himself into this new activity with the full furor of his artistic idealism, with the result that after three years (1888-91) the Budapest Opera was thoroughly rehabilitated both artistically and materially. Under Mahler's direction the *Nibelungenring* was produced for the first time in the Hungarian language, and Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* had its first performance on a non-Italian stage. And referring to the production of *Don Giovanni*, Johannes Brahms remarked at the time that he had learned much from it that he had not known before, and had never heard Mozart performed in such masterly style; as Mahler wrote to his family:

"That means a lot, coming from Brahms, who is so wedded to conservatism."

A change in the managership, however, spoiled Mahler's pleasure in his admirable work at Budapest, and after lengthy negotiations with director Pollini he accepted the position of chief conductor in Hamburg. Here the scope of his activities broadened; as opera-director he was entirely independent, and his cosmopolitan Hamburg audiences permitted a freer development of his artistic plans. He put Smetana's *Bartered Bride* on the repertory, as well as Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*, although he expressed no very favorable opinion of the latter. On the other hand, he was an ardent champion of Mascagni, whose *Amico Fritz* he brought out after conscientious study. It appears that *Cavalleria rusticana* had little success in Hamburg, and Mahler wrote "With full sympathy for the composer, in that case so unsuccessful and badly treated, I strained every nerve to make the canaille appreciate the work." (*Amico Fritz*.) Furthermore, he conducted Mozart, Weber, Lortzing, Meyerbeer, Wagner, Puccini (*Manon Lescaut*: first performance in Germany), Humperdinck, etc. He attracted the attention of Richard Strauss; they passed hours together in Mahler's home and became well acquainted, though only to the point to which the diversity in their natures permitted of mutual approach. Still, Strauss is apostrophized by Mahler as "of all the gods, my sole friend"; and it was owing to Strauss's intervention that Mahler's *First Symphony* was brought out at the Weimar Music Festival of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (June 1-5, 1894). Of peculiar significance for our young artist was to be his more intimate contact with Hans von Bülow, who esteemed more especially Mahler the conductor, and embraced repeated opportunities to show his esteem publicly. With Mahler the composer, however, he was unable to arrive at an agreement. After Bülow's death in 1894, Mahler undertook the direction of the Subscription Concerts; it was at the funeral rites for this master that he made the acquaintance of Klopstock's ode *Auferstehn, ja auferstehn sollst du*, wherefrom he drew the inspiration for the closing movement of his *Second Symphony*. In 1892 an engagement as visiting conductor took him for two months to London, where he won brilliant success with productions of the *Ring*, *Tristan*, and *Fidelio*. His annual idyllic summer vacations in the Austrian Alps (Steinbach on the Attersee) offered the composer the necessary seclusion and freedom for work; here the *Second Symphony* was completed (première at Berlin, 1895), and the *Third* conceived and worked out, the finished product being

first performed at Krefeld in 1902, though excerpts from it had previously been heard in Berlin.

Mahler's course now starts upon the steep ascent to its highest point. A lingering crisis in the management of the Vienna Opera most unexpectedly brought about an offer of the post of chief conductor; a few months later, at the beginning of the season of 1897, he was promoted to the position of artistic director. Mahler had now reached the zenith of his career. He, who dreamed of opera festivals in accord with Wagner's ideals, and for whom no ensemble of orchestra and singers could ever do enough, now found himself absolute ruler over the leading orchestra of the world. Resources were at his disposal for the upbuilding of the ensemble, assuring him of a permanent staff of coadjutors, to which no other could be compared. Great names, whose praises still resound in our own times, were then numbered among the members of the Vienna Opera: Mildenburg, Selma Kurz, Gutheil-Schoder, Bertha Lauterer (wife of the composer J. B. Foerster), Slezak, Mayr, Winkelmann, Hesch, Demuth, Schmedes—these were a few of the most illustrious. As conductors he engaged, together with others, Franz Schalk, Bruno Walter, and Alexander Zemlinsky. And with this ensemble, which had Arnold Rosé (husband of Mahler's sister Justine) as Konzertmeister and Alfred Roller as stage-manager and creator of new stage-settings, Mahler celebrated true operatic festivals. His first step was to rebuild the repertory from the ground up. Old operas like Haydn's *Apotheker*, Gluck, Mozart, *Fidelio*, Weber, Lortzing, Meyerbeer, Wagner, etc., were newly staged, and novelties selected and produced with unerring judgment, such as Strauss's *Feuersnot* and Pfitzner's *Rose vom Liebesgarten*; he was especially partial to the Slavs, bringing out Smetana's *Dalibor* and *Bartered Bride*, Tchaikovsky's *Iolanthe* and *Pique-Dame*, and Rubinstein's *Dämon*. In his capacity as conductor of the Philharmonic Concerts he also favored Slavic music, but above all he fostered Beethoven and Mozart, followed at a considerable distance by Bruckner, Liszt, César Franck, Berlioz, Richard Strauss, and others.

The ten years of Mahler's directorate in Vienna form a span of classic opera history. Through the coöperation of all participating factors—music, voice, pantomime, scenery, illumination—performances of a standard such as Wagner aimed at were realized. *Tristan*, *Don Giovanni*, *Fidelio* and *Iphigénie en Aulide* (Gluck) were representative of the essence of strict classical style free from every trace of naturalism. "The stage-setting of *Tristan* was of positively stupendous effect in the perfect adjustment of its color

to the tone-colors of the scenes, in the requisite limitation and expansion of space according to the dramaturgic demands, the poesy of word and music, and all without any disturbing obtrusiveness." So writes Guido Adler in his fine work on Mahler (Universal Edition). Celebrated was the then novel feature in the scenic arrangement of *Don Giovanni*: the two towers flanking the stage and changing in style in conformity with the changing scenes. Another famous detail was Mahler's insertion of the third *Leonore* Overture between the prison-scene and closing scene of *Fidelio*, the original *Fidelio* Overture being used as introduction.

All this and much more that remains unrivalled and unforgotten, Mahler had to leave behind unfinished when his work at the Opera was thwarted by the ignoble machinations of certain cliques. While here he had had only his brief summer vacation for original creative work, yet during these years he composed the *Fourth*, *Fifth*, *Sixth* and *Seventh Symphonies*, part of the *Eighth*, the *Kindertotenlieder*, the five *Lieder* to poems by Rückert. He now, in order to secure leisure in coming years for composing, accepted an offer from the United States, engaging him for three seasons as operatic and concert conductor. At the Metropolitan Opera in 1907-08 he directed *Don Giovanni*, *Fidelio*, *Tristan*, *The Bartered Bride*. His vitality, which had been much weakened by a disease of the heart, and by the exhausting years in Vienna, received a rejuvenating impulse in the New World. The atmosphere of objectivity there prevailing, the immense possibilities for effective work unhampered by paltry considerations, formed an element wherein his life-forces found new energy. "The climate, the people here, and the amazingly generous scale of conditions in general, are wonderfully to my liking. . . . Here they represent only one thing—ability and will-power," he writes in 1908; and he praises the impartiality of the public, in whom he hoped to meet with appreciative understanding of his artistic aims. And so it was; the brilliant Philharmonic orchestra was placed at Mahler's disposition, with which he was thenceforward to undertake concert-tours throughout the United States. In this activity, the conducting of concerts with unlimited artistic resources, he also found relaxation after the "tremendous flood of impressions in creative work." For this was the period of his most intimate and poignant self-expression in music, that of the *Eighth Symphony* and *Das Lied von der Erde*. The premiere of the *Eighth* in Munich on September 19, 1910, bore every mark of an international event; success was overwhelming; the voices raised in ceaseless opposition to Mahler's works were heard as usual; the master still remained

the most wildly applauded and the most misunderstood artist of that period.

In the course of the strenuous American season of 1910 his malady broke out in a dangerous form; of the 65 concerts he had undertaken to give, he could conduct only 48, the remainder being taken over by his friend and concert-master Theodor Spiering. The end was near when Mahler arrived in Europe with his wife in April, 1911; he died in Vienna on May 18.

The reception of the *Eighth Symphony* in the world of music is illustrative of Mahler's artistic fortunes throughout his career. From the outset a symphonist, he attained by way of the Lied to his monumental breadth of instrumental style. This style, novel and daring alike, alluring and forbidding through the heterogeneity of its elements of expression, left no auditor indifferent, but obliged each to assume instinctively an attitude either for or against; an effect which flows from the essential prerequisites of Mahler's art. The extreme of subjective self-expression, it none the less rises to an impersonal, world-embracing height. In Mahler's symphonic development personal experience is transmuted into cosmic symbolism, personal suffering becomes a part of the suffering of all created beings, and the angels of heaven participate in the blissful joys of the individual. The individual as a microcosm, a reflection of the universe, participates in its agitations and tragedies, in its chaos, in its purifications and sublimities. The *Third* and *Eighth Symphonies* are borne on the sweep of this all-embracing love. "What the flowers tell me," "What the animals tell me," "What love tells me," are Mahler's captions for the several movements of the *Third*. And the Faust Scene in the *Eighth*, with its seraphic apotheosis of love, its ecstatically envisioned universal transfiguration, marks the unsurpassable high-point of this philosopher-artist's cosmic dream.

The scurrilities of existence, but also its sublimity, find expression in Mahler's music; hence the oft-recurring contradictions in character, the abrupt changes in mood, the proneness to the grotesque, the fondness for exaggerations, for street-tunes which may be immediately followed by thoughts of loftiest aspiration and beauty. Despite tonal allusions to poetic episodes (e.g., in the dance-melodies), this is never program-music of the traditional type; everything is symbolically intended, as the cow-bells in the *Seventh Symphony*, which are meant to convey the thought of a lonely isolation. Similarly, the human voice appears among the other instruments as interpreter of the highest ecstasy, the musical symbol, as it were, of the *principium individuationis* in the cosmos.

In his entire being Gustav Mahler is a disciple of romanticism. Musical expressionism has often sought to fortify its position by pointing to his frequently over-charged individualism, and viewed in him its own immediate precursor. But what sharply distinguishes Mahler's art from this tendency is its wealth of sensuous material—melody, rhythm, tone-color—besides a predisposition to breadth of conception. The metaphysical element, however, that conditions and pervades his works, is a pledge of their continued and unquestioned vitality.

(Translated by Theodore Baker.)

MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS AT PUBLIC GATHERINGS¹

By FRANCES DENSMORE

MUSIC is an important factor in public gatherings of the American Indians, who derive much pleasure from it, yet they have no concerts nor recitals and the European custom of ballad-singing is unknown. The American Indian never sang for the approval of others, neither did he sing in order to be paid for his performance. His pleasure in music has not been connected with technique but with melodies, their words, and certain associations of the songs. The connection of music with magic has disappeared with the development of the race but the attitude of the Indian toward his music remains the same as in the olden times.

If we limit the term "art" to a display of technique, we may be tempted to think that the Indian is not an artist, but if we study the beliefs surrounding his music we shall, I think, be willing to give him a place among the artists of the world. He seeks to express truth in his primitive way, but his expression has always been oblique and subtle. He loves to use phrases in his songs that only the initiate can understand. It matters nothing that such songs are beyond the comprehension of the crowd. He sings for those who understand: is he not a true artist? In the old days he held music to be sacred. And he has nothing that corresponds to our popular songs; he has not debased music to such trivial use. To him it is the hand-maid of the gods: is not this the highest ideal of art?

Every true Indian song was an inspiration, not a creation by rule and precept. The old Indian did not compose songs but claimed to receive them direct from spirits. Often he would see a spirit and hear it singing a song which he remembered. It was his belief that by singing this song in time of danger or difficulty he could call back the spirit and receive its promised help. A doctor sang when he treated a patient, using his personal song, full of magic power. A warrior sang in battle, shouting the song received from his ghostly guardian. The man who worked an evil charm sang as he mixed his herbs, making the "medicine" that would cause starvation or calamity in the camp. These were personal songs and are somewhat apart from our subject. They are, however, important in showing the connection between

¹This paper was read by Miss Elizabeth Burchenal, President of the American Folk-Dance Society, at the International Congress of Popular Arts, at Antwerp, in August, 1930, being translated into French by the official interpreter.

song and the supernatural which permeates all the old Indian music. These examples also show the slight value placed upon the manner of rendition. If the medicine man who accompanied a war-party had the power to locate the enemy or to bring down lightning, he might sing his magic song in any way he desired. The quality of his voice was of no importance compared to victory with many scalps to be carried home in triumph. Music and magic were inseparable and the era of the music teacher, paid by the hour, had not begun. If a man taught a magic song to another, he also shared the secret of its mysterious power.

Let us consider the association of music with public gatherings or festivals under four divisions: poetry, drama, dances and games. The accompanying instruments used by the Indians are rhythmic, not melodic, and consist chiefly of drums and rattles.

All the poetry of the Indians is in the words of songs and rituals. The latter include many repetitions of phrases and the extended form is difficult for us to grasp in its entirety. The cycles of songs, used in many tribes, are more easily followed, as they often describe the journeys of mythical personages. They are sung in public by groups of singers while some of the people dance in a monotonous manner, responsive to the rhythm. The words are brief, but each song contains a picture, and the people find pleasure in listening to this classic poetry. There is no attempt at singing with expression, or interpreting the words by the manner of performance. The singers simply repeat the song clearly and accurately. The songs need no embellishment; the people love them too well to desire any personal element in the performance.

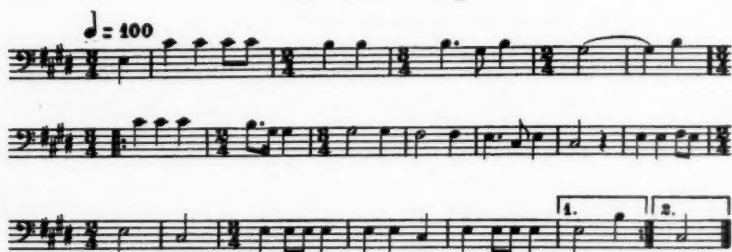
It was my privilege to attend a dance of the Papago Indians at which such songs were sung. The dance was held on Christmas night, under the Arizona stars. The moon was full and the desert sand looked white as Christmas snow, but we were near the border of Mexico. Eighty miles I travelled from town and telephone to witness this dance, remaining until after midnight. The Indians danced quietly, moving in a line around an overturned basket on which two men pounded with the palms of their hands, the line being led by a man with a gourd rattle. The singing as well as the dancing seemed monotonous, but the pleasure of the Indians was tireless.

Many Papago songs are connected with the beauties of nature. Riding across the desert with my interpreter, I once said, "The old Indians must have enjoyed this beautiful country." The interpreter was silent a moment, then he said, "Nature was

the only joy they had." The western face of a mountain was red that evening with a peculiar glow, and I remembered it later when recording a song, supposed to be sung by a creator, with the words:

I have created you here. I have created you here.
The red evening I bring you.¹

No. 1. Papago Song "The red evening"



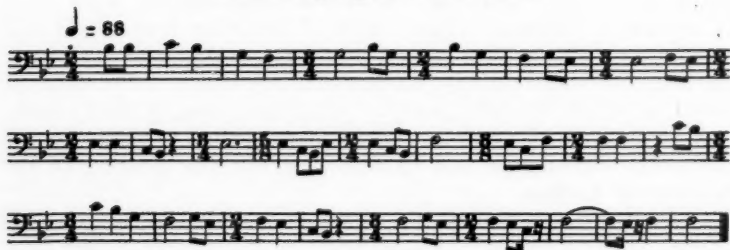
This song is one of a long series or cycle of songs, sung in public. The song which immediately follows it contains the words:

I created a great deal of wind, and at last I created many clouds, so now I am singing for joy.

In their ceremony to bring rain, this tribe sings the following song during the dancing:

We see the light that brightens in the east,
It seems to turn to flame,
On the edge of it is something that looks like a white feather,
But we see that it is white clouds.

No. 2. Papago Song "A flaming light in the East"



¹Translations and songs are from published and unpublished material by the author. Permission Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

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The Yuma and Cocopa Indians, at certain gatherings, sing of a deer who trod along a spiderweb from one mountain-top to another. This is one of the songs:

After the deer had been in darkness a long time he asked the spider to have a road made for him in the darkness.

The spider made the road and the deer is now travelling on it.

The deer met many animals on his journey, this being described in the songs, four of which are as follows:

(1) The little blackbirds are singing this song, as they dance around the four corners of the sky.

(2) The howling coyote took up common dust and scattered it toward the sky. He caused the dust to become stars and the moon.

(3) The owl only hooted and told of the morning star. He hooted again and told of the dawn.

(4) The water-bug is drawing the shadows of the evening toward him across the water.

* *
*

The connection between song and primitive drama is so close that the two can not be separated. There is rich pageantry, in addition to singing, in the ceremonies to bring rain. The Hopi snake-dance comes first to our minds and has been often described. A certain Papago ceremony is less familiar. In it the people carried huge images of everything desired in abundance and depending upon water for its existence. Certain men skilful in the work made these images which included cattle, birds, cactus, grain, and vegetables, as well as clouds. The men who had dreamed the proper dreams carried these huge objects in several processions during the ceremony. One of the songs of these processions contained the words:

A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is singing,
A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is standing still,
It is raining and thundering up there,
It is raining here,
Under the mountain the corn tassels are shaking,
Under the mountain the horns of the child corn are glistening.

The term "horns" in the last line refers to the slender spikes or prongs at the top of the stalks of young corn. The song illustrates the Indian custom of declaring as a present condition that which is desired in the future.

The Indians of the Great Plains formerly held a ceremony commonly known as the Sun-Dance, in which warriors fulfilled

their vows by allowing themselves to be suspended from a pole by the flesh of back or breast, while they danced, looking up at the sun. The securing of the tree for this pole was a primitive drama, witnessed by the people. It was customary to treat the tree as though it were an enemy, and it was felled in a prescribed manner by a young maiden. Four times on its way to the Sun-Dance circle, the pole was lowered upon crotched sticks, but not allowed to touch the ground. The pole was painted with ceremonial care, the medicine man who performed this task singing the following song alone, without a drum:

Father, all these he has made me to own, the trees and the forests standing in their places.

No. 3. Sioux Song of the Sun-Dance

Voice ♩ = 160

Drum ♩ = 80

Drum-beats equivalent to minims



The pole was raised to its place while the people stood in absolute silence; then they burst into shouts of rejoicing.

These are among the formal dramas of the Indians, but there are many others which are individual and, to some extent, impromptu in character. These too are connected with the supernatural and each has its song as well as its purpose. For example,

a warrior would dramatize his victory over the enemy and enact it for all beholders at a war-dance, the men at the drum singing a song in his honor. This song might contain his name and mention some circumstance of his victory, or it might be his "dream song," by the help of which he won the victory. It would not tell the story of his dream nor name the article he carried on his person to assist in securing its benefits, but it would give a clue to the subject of the dream. Thus a warrior's song might speak of feathers, indicating that he had dreamt of a bird, but it would not tell the sort of bird whose feathers he wore in a bag around his neck to protect him from the arrows of the enemy. In this dramatization he would creep along the ground, perhaps holding a bit of brush before his face to simulate the cover of ambush. Before the eyes of admiring friends he would enact his bold attack and all the circumstances of his victory. More than twenty years ago I saw such dances by Chippewa who had fought against the Sioux. In more recent years I have seen an Indian act like a bear, imitating the action of a warrior who had dreamed of a bear and believed that he returned victorious by its help. Such a dream was not an ordinary dream occurring in sleep but a peculiar condition, usually induced by fasting, in which visions were seen. In a war-dance on his return, the warrior might acknowledge the aid of his spirit-helper while the men at the drum sang the song given him by the bear. In the old days, if a Sioux Indian dreamed of an animal, it was his duty to make it known by a dramatic action which simulated that of the animal. If he dreamed of an elk he would publicly imitate the elk; and it is said this was sometimes done so successfully that the man's footprints were those of an elk.

* * *

Dancing is closely akin to drama; and among the Menominee Indians I have seen very old dances in which men and women imitated the actions of the owl, rabbit, frog, crawfish and partridge. Among the Winnebago of Wisconsin I witnessed an interesting dance by the women in which they interpreted the flight of wild swans, advancing in a wedge-formation and fluttering their hands. Four songs are used with this dance, commonly called the Swan-dance. More than a thousand miles away, on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, I attended a gathering of Makah and other tribes and saw dancers imitate the brown bear, their dramatic action being carried on without any song.

The Makah and related tribes formerly held what were called "representation dances" as part of the Klokali, one of their great festivals. There was no opportunity to see this festival, but a young woman posed in the attitudes of the various dances and I recorded the songs. The costumes were simple, consisting chiefly of different sorts of head-dresses and a blanket draped in various ways. Among the representations were those of the raven, snipe, dog, raccoon, deer, and elk, there being songs with each, except the elk-dance. A man who had dreamt of a small fish would imitate it at this time, moving with a motion like swimming. One of the most picturesque of these imitations was that of the wild white geese. In this the dancers wore white blankets fastened around their necks like capes, and the motion of their arms beneath the blanket resembled that of wings. After imitating the actions of wild geese on the shore, they pretended to fly away, following a leader.

Less primitive, but no less interesting than the foregoing, were two celebrations of Holy Week witnessed among the Yaqui Indians of southern Arizona, the first (1920) in the vicinity of Tucson and the second (1922) in the village of Guadalupe, near Phoenix. The first occasion was on the afternoon of Good Friday, and a feature of the music consisted of blowing upon short pipes, resembling shepherd's pipes. The men who blew upon these pipes had their faces covered with loose cloths. The singing was mournful, and it had been continuous since the preceding evening. Prominent in the gathering were several clowns in grotesque costumes, wearing tall head-dresses and large gloves and carrying long sticks with which they beat the people.

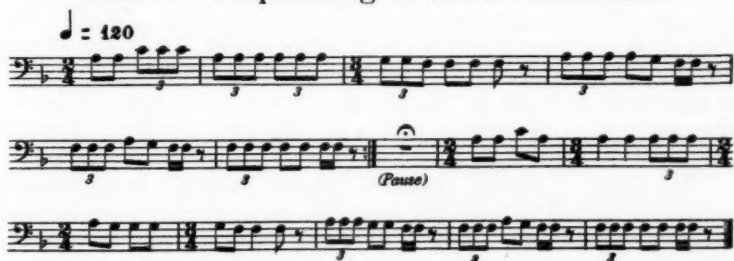
Guadalupe village, the scene of the second celebration, is a settlement of Yaqui Indians who are subjects of Mexico, not citizens of the United States. It is governed by native chiefs and is a little foreign community, surrounded by farms on which the Indians find employment. Their celebrations ran from Holy Thursday to Easter Day, the more dramatic occurring on Saturday. This included the Deer-dance, and the storming of a chapel (open on one side) supposed to contain the body of Christ. A procession started about 200 feet from the front of the chapel. About 60 feet nearer the chapel a party of Deer-dancers was stationed, and near them a group of men with violins. The performances of the Deer-dance were interpolated among the songs of the religious procession, forming a strange combination of Roman Catholicism and native pageantry. Three times the procession stormed the entrance of the chapel and twice was repulsed with a shower of

flower petals and tiny bits of green leaves resembling confetti. The third time its members were allowed to enter one by one, the men taking off their shoes and leaving them in a pile at the open entrance. Gifts on the altar included silk apparel and articles of every description. Midway between the entrance and the altar was a small, decorated catafalque at which the faithful knelt in prayer. At one side were the singers, and among them were little children wearing towerlike head-dresses of many colors.

The Deer-dance is a very old Yaqui dance, native in every respect, and with it were sung ancient songs which were afterward recorded by Juan Ariwares, the leader. Eight men took part in this dance, four dancing and four playing the accompanying instruments which will be described. The costume of the dancers was scanty, nothing being worn above the waist. The leader, who danced alone much of the time, had a pair of small deer horns fastened on top of his head. The other three dancers wore heavy wooden masks on which were painted grotesque faces with stiff hairs set in the wood to represent eyebrows. A long string of cocoons containing small pebbles was wrapped around one knee of each, rattling with the motion of the dancer. Two carried rattles made of flat pieces of wood between which were set little disks of tin. The accompanying instruments consisted of four half-gourds, two being used as resonators for rasping sticks (see p. 474), one inverted on the ground and struck with a short stick, and the other inverted on the water in a tin-pan and similarly struck.

The man who recorded the songs said that performance of the entire series would require a whole night and it was with difficulty that he selected a number of songs for recording. The words concerned chiefly the deer and other animals, one line constituting the words of an entire song. The music to one of these songs is here given, the words being "The deer looks at a flower":

No. 4. Yaqui Song of the Deer-Dance



Three other Deer-dance songs contain the words:

- (1) Brother little fly flies around and looks at the sun.
- (2) The quail in the bush is making his sound [whirring].
- (3) The bush is sitting under the tree and singing [exerting the magic power which was always put forth in song].

It is said that in old times the Deer-dance took place only at night and that in the morning two or three men went out to hunt deer. An intensive study of this interesting dance was impossible because of the lack of a competent interpreter.

Two sorts of songs were recorded and heard in this village, the one being the old Yaqui music and the other showing Mexican influence. An example of the latter is the following:

No. 5. Modern Yaqui Song



Many Indian tribes have a custom of "releasing the spirit of the dead" which is highly dramatic. Certain tribes of southwestern Arizona who cremate the dead, formerly made images which they burned in a ceremonial manner about a year after the cremation of the body. These images were life-size, the faces modelled and painted to resemble the dead as nearly as possible, and they were attired in the clothing of the dead. At the conclusion of a ceremony these images were laid face downward in a shallow pit filled with dry wood and burned, after which the name of the dead was never spoken. In 1922, I was able to witness a cremation of the dead and obtain the details of the memorial ceremony. The songs were hereditary and were recorded by the man who sang them in the ceremonies.

In many northern tribes a "spirit bundle" is preserved, containing a lock of hair cut from the head of the deceased and some of his clothing. This is kept for about a year, and at the expiration of that time the spirit is "released," with appropriate

ceremonies and songs. The Chippewa and related tribes have a touching ceremony of "restoring the mourners" by which their period of mourning is publicly ended. Gifts are bestowed upon them, and after this ceremony they are expected to show no further signs of grief. I have twice attended this ceremony, in connection with the study of its songs.

* * *

The dances of the various tribes of American Indians differ in nature. Certain tribes have acrobatic dances which are unknown in others. These dances are a free expression and each dancer tries to outdo his companions in contortions and gymnastics. The same tribes have other dances which are dignified and still individual. Other tribes show a restraint of the upper part of the body in all their dances. It is difficult to generalize in so large a subject, but it may safely be said that in a majority of Indian dances the motion is in a circle, the dancers facing the center of the circle where a large drum is placed and the singers being seated around the drum. If a great many dancers take part there may be two or more circles moving alternately, one toward the right and the one behind it toward the left, the next circle in turn moving toward the right. In certain dances, in some tribes, the dancers form one or two lines and move in front of the singers who beat on small drums held in the hand. Their path is sometimes an oval and sometimes that of a fancy march, with various evolutions. There are dances in which only men take part, others for both men and women, and others for certain groups of women, notably the relatives of deceased warriors. A tribe of Vancouver Island, whose songs I have recorded, has an interesting dance for the benefit of the sick, a society of women going to the house of the sick person and dancing for him. They wear a special costume and have their own songs.

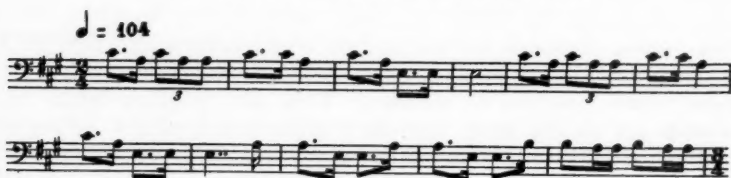
The steps of Indian dances are different for men and women. The latter stand very straight, often with their shawls wrapped around them, and move sideways in a circle, facing the drum. One foot is slightly lifted and moved a few inches, then the other foot is placed beside it, the motion being almost like that of a marionette. The men, also facing the drum and moving sideways, have more freedom of motion. They are relaxed, while the women are rigidly erect, and they often dance with a flexing of the knees. There are, of course, many dances in which the men dance freely, the foregoing being the custom in ordinary social

dances among Plains and woodland tribes. There are dances by men or women who stand still and simply flex their knees, dances by men in a squatting position, and other dances in which they sit still and move their bodies. I have attended innumerable dances in widely separated tribes, and afterwards recorded the songs from the leading singers.

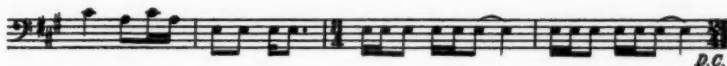
Many Indian dances are connected with ceremonies which have for their purpose the securing of rain, abundant crops, or success in the hunt. These are said to be older than the dances which are social in character.

Mention may be made of the Bear-dance of the Ute Indians with its peculiar accompaniment supposed to resemble the growling of a bear. For this accompaniment a trench about five feet long, two feet wide, and two feet deep, is dug in the ground. This is covered with sheets of zinc on which the singers, seated around the sides, rest the ends of rasping sticks. These sticks, referred to in connection with the Yaqui Deer-dance, are two: a stick about twenty inches long, in which are cut a number of deep notches, and which is held upright in the left hand, and a short, thick stick which is held in the right hand and drawn sharply up and down across the notches. The bone of a bear is sometimes used for the rubber, and the longer stick may be shaped like the jaw-bone of a bear. The lower end of the notched stick rests on a resonator which varies in different tribes. An overturned basket is used by the Piman tribes, often with a hole dug under the basket to increase the sound. It will readily be seen that the vibrations of the notched stick are communicated to the resonator, which in turn sets in vibration the air confined in the hole, so as to dominate the original vibration. In the Bear-dance of the Ute, as indicated, the notched sticks are rested on sheets of zinc, placed above a deep trench. The resultant sound is said to be terrific. The dance continues several days and a dancer sometimes falls to the ground from exhaustion.

No. 6. Ute Bear-Dance Song



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The Indians, as has been said, believe that spirits are willing to befriend human beings and that they will make gifts of songs for success in gaming. Several legends to this effect have been recorded, together with the songs which enabled a culture-hero to win everything wagered by his opponents—even to the lives of their families and friends. Instances have also been related in which a man who was bereaved or despondent received the gift of a song enabling him to win at gaming. In old days, games were played in public and gambling was a recognized means of obtaining wealth. The old Indians did not sell anything, in the sense of bartering for a fixed price, but they transferred goods by gift, with the expectation of an equivalent return, or they wagered them in games and races.

Games of skill and calculation, like chess, are unknown among the Indians, theirs being contests of dexterity or games of chance. To the former class belong archery, ball-playing and various forms of javelin-throwing, all being public performances and some connected with ceremonies. To the latter class belong games which resemble the throwing of dice, and games which consist in guessing the location of small objects concealed in the hand or under a covering.

In three different tribes I have seen a game which is played by tossing a few bone disks and figures in a shallow bowl. The score is made by noting the exposed surfaces of the disks and the count is kept by means of short sticks, one hundred usually constituting a game. The little bone-figures differ in the various tribes, some using figures of turtles and others having tiny bone knives or representations of dogs, spirits or the moon. This game is said to have been received from spirit women who live in the eastern sky and who give the songs to be sung when the game is played. While the game is sometimes played for pleasure, its chief purpose is the securing of health and success, promised in a dream. It is usually played by women, and if played as a dream obligation, it is in public, with a speech explaining its purpose.

Under such circumstances the fact of playing the game is the only matter of importance; the winning by one or another is of no significance.

The principal games of hiding small objects are known as the moccasin-game and the hand-game, the latter having many forms. The songs with these games are sung by assistants to the players, their purpose being to confuse the opponents as well as to encourage the players. For that reason the rhythms often are subtle.

The moccasin-game consists in hiding four bullets under four moccasins laid in a row on a blanket, one of the bullets being marked. The opponents try to guess the location of the marked bullet, watching every motion of the hand and noting any move on the part of the player which may betray the hiding-place of the marked bullet. The play may continue for many hours, the immobile faces of the men showing neither joy of victory nor anxiety of defeat, while the spectators patiently await the final score. The songs of this game are accompanied by beating on a hand-drum having two heads.

No. 7. Chippewa Song

Moccasin-game song (a)

Voice ♩ = 84

Drum ♩ = 84

Drum rhythm crochets, each preceded by a short, unaccented stroke



No. 8. Chippewa Song

Moccasin-game song (b)

♩ = 120



The hand-game is the commonest and most widely distributed of Indian guessing games. Two bone or wooden cylinders are the usual implements, one being marked. These are concealed in the player's hands and the opponents guess which hand holds the marked cylinder. There are many variations of the game, which is counted with sticks and accompanied by songs or incantations.

No. 9. Ute Song of the Hand-Game

Voice ♩ = 412

Drum $\text{♩} = 442$

Drum rhythm quavers



I attended this game three times among the Pawnee and even took part in it, under the direction of the Indians. More than 100 Indians were present and the game was opened in a ceremonial manner.

No. 10. Pawnee Song of the Hand-Game

♩ = 108



An incident which lingers in my memory is the playing of a game called *slahal* by Indians in a hop-picking camp near Chilliwack, British Columbia. This is a form of hand-game and was played in the evening, by the light of a huge bonfire. About twenty men took part in the game and the spectators numbered at least a hundred. The players knelt or squatted in two lines facing each other, the leader in the middle of each line designating the man who should next hide the bone cylinders. In front of each line of men was a heavy plank, raised slightly above the ground, and on this plank the men pounded as they sang. Throughout this region a plank is thus used as a percussion instrument. The gathering was composed of men from all parts of British Columbia, and the game was a subject in which all could unite. One of the

younger men said, "We have the game so that the older men and strangers can have a good time."

* * *

Music among the Indians is chiefly a man's art, in both individual and group singing, although in certain tribes a few women sit behind the circle of men at the drum and hold their hands or shawls over their mouths, singing in a nasal tone. I do not recall an instance of a woman receiving a song in a dream, but have recorded numerous songs composed by women, and have talked with two women who composed songs in collaboration, these songs being recorded. The composition of songs is usually by two or more men, each suggesting a phrase or change in the melody until all are satisfied. The song is then considered finished and is never changed.

There are definite reasons why certain men are chosen as singers at public gatherings. In some instances these men have inherited the right to sing the songs. It is not a question of the quality or strength of their voices; they "own the songs" and always sing them, but they may have two or three "helpers" if they desire. The long cycles of songs are sung by old men with retentive memories who learned them when young. If the words are obsolete, they are repeated by rote, each syllable being sung with care and the general meaning being understood. Authority is therefore of great importance in the singing of rituals and ceremonial songs. Accuracy is also necessary. If a man makes a mistake in a ceremonial song he is obliged to pay a fine and the ceremony previous to that song must be repeated. A retentive memory is also required. The length of the rituals is amazing to a member of the white race. Apart from ritual songs, a good singer is required to have a large number of other songs at his command. It is said that every good singer has several hundred songs in his mind and I have recorded more than eighty from one individual without approaching the limit of his resources. This has been done in more than one tribe. I have been told of an Indian who can sing four nights, all night, repeating each song only the required four times. Songs are often learned from other tribes, and a good singer must be able to sing a song correctly after hearing it two or three times. This is different from the learning of songs by men who sit with good singers at the drum and sing softly until they know a song; these men are regarded only as "helpers."

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Mention has been made of the large drum used at dances. Fifteen men are often seated around such a drum, each pounding with a stick and singing. One man is the recognized leader and sings a phrase of each song, after which the others take up the melody. This is the manner of announcing a song, as the Indians do not have titles for their songs. The leader at the drum must have a loud, piercing voice and the same is required of those who assist him, in order that the singing may be heard by the large number of dancers in the open air.

In the olden days, as we have seen, songs were given by kindly spirits, and their use was chiefly associated with securing help and benefit to human beings. The doctor was paid for treating the sick with songs, but the singer at public gatherings was the servant of all, working without applause and without pay, except perhaps a little tobacco or food. Often he sang at night, keeping the songs in exact order—the songs of evening, the songs just before midnight, the songs between midnight and dawn, and the songs that must be sung after daybreak.

Musicians were respected among American Indians of the past, and music is highly regarded by Indians of the present time, but the song is always held to be greater than the singer. The man is exalted by his art.

NEGRO SPIRITUALS IN THE MAKING

By LUCILE PRICE TURNER

MUCH has been written of Negro spirituals, and of their collection and preservation. A great many of them, perhaps six hundred, have been written down. It would seem that, except for historical and analytical studies, the subject is exhausted. But is it?

For many years, when I thought of the matter at all, I fancied, vaguely, that spirituals were the expression of a primitive and deeply religious people under stress of slavery; and that the making of Negro spirituals in America had passed with the conditions that produced it.

That was before I knew Tom.

When, some twenty years ago, I came to Arkansas to make my home, I found a wealth of anecdote, legend, and folk-lore that interested me deeply. There were tales of frontier days; tales of the country under French rule; innumerable stories of the easy, genial life, before the Civil War. Reminiscences of it were all around me. A few of my friends remembered that life, and their old darkies (or the darkies' children) still served them with affection. The migration northward had not reached this part of the South, and the Negro population was—as still it is—a simple-hearted and kindly one.

One of my first acquisitions in my new home was Tom. And since that day our floors have been waxed, our house cleaned, our yard and garden cared for, by Tom. Little by little, as the years went by, I found that the tall, slender darky who was my willing, good-natured servant on week days, was, on evenings and Sundays, a fiery and devout preacher; and that, when he came to his work looking tired and worn, his church was having something in the nature of a revival, not only every night, but all night.

At such times, Tom sang and prayed softly while at work. Sometimes the song was a well-known spiritual. More often the words and music were strange, and seemed, like the prayers, in process of composition. When, on warm summer mornings, he cut the lawn, I knew that solitude and the rhythm of the lawnmower would soon prove inspiring; and I usually made myself comfortable behind a half-closed shutter to watch and listen. As

Tom works, he sings, pushing the mower in short jerks to emphasize the rhythm. He stops to kneel a while in the shadow of the shrubbery and chant a prayer—perhaps original—perhaps reminiscent of the night before.

A friend to whom I recommended Tom, objected to this practice. When her rugs were spread upon the grass to be cleaned at thirty cents an hour, she insisted that they should not be converted into prayer rugs. She was, no doubt, right. But she was not interested in spirituals, nor had she my grateful memories of years of happy service from Tom: Tom coming five miles to save my magnolia from breaking under a heavy fall of snow; Tom waxing floors to a working song from the cotton-fields learned in his youth; Tom cleaning the stair-carpet to his own version of "All God's Chillun Has Shoes," the whisks and flourishes of his small broom not calculated to produce a dustless atmosphere, but highly satisfactory as a rhythmic accompaniment. (Tom could have used the *Hoover*; but what a tame performance!)

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*

Tom tells me that his church is called "The Church of Christ in God," and that its members are called "Holiness People." Like Tom, they are childlike and un-selfconscious, composing their own songs and prayers out of their own needs and experiences. Most of the Negro churches, even in the South, have grown sophisticated in imitation of the white man's church; but Tom's church is not so. Its members are, for the most part, poor, living "a day at a time," and "trusting the Lord" for everything—even for the cure of the sick. Once a year, there is a "Conference" at Memphis, when they come (so he says) from many states, especially from the South. It is to this Conference that each church sends the new spirituals which it has composed during the year. If Tom's church, for instance, has made three new spirituals, some member of the congregation takes them to a local printer to be made into "ballets." (The words of each song are printed on a single sheet which is then called a "ballet.") These ballets are taken to Memphis to the Conference, and their success or failure *there* stamps them as worthy or unworthy of publication in a pamphlet to be sold to all the churches in all the different states. Sometimes a new spiritual spreads like a prairie fire in the Conference, and every visitor goes home singing it.

As for the music, it is never written down, even in the pamphlets. It is not necessary. The ear and the musical memory of

the colored race have had generations of training, and, in any case, the subtle shadings of Negro harmonies cannot be set down on our five-line staff. It is an utter impossibility. I have one of the pamphlets, a small yellow one called "Songs of Mystery." There is no music—nothing but words, and no author's name anywhere in the book.

But why are the songs on the ballets called spirituals, and how were they composed? Tom says they are spirituals because they are mystical songs inspired by the Holy Spirit. He uses his word mystical in its sense of direct communication with God. Most of them have been composed in church, by the entire congregation; but the germ of them may be traced to your lawn or mine—to your rugs or my stair-carpet.

If you will go with me to Tom's church, you may hear (and see) how the composing is often done.

You will find yourself in a small frame building with some seventy-five negroes—men, women, and children. There is the usual raised platform for the use of the preacher, and, in this case, for a piano.

The service begins with a well-known song, perhaps a spiritual, perhaps an ordinary sacred song. There is a prayer and a reading from the Bible. Next comes the testifying: "You know we live by the day, and we testify how the Lord has kep' us." Then "the Spirit begins to rise." "It's like electricity," Tom explains, "when you take hold o' hands; so with the power o' the Holy Ghost." Someone begins to "speak in tongues." You and I do not understand the words; but Tom assures me that everybody belonging to the church does—by "inspiration"—"like the signs of a secret order." Dancing and chanting begin, accompanied by soft patting and clapping, and by ejaculatory prayers. They are "dancing in the Spirit." They are "singing in the Spirit." A rich tenor voice suddenly sings a felicitous line: "O Lord, search my heart." Half the congregation take it up: "O Lord, search my heart." The whole congregation sings, each in his own way contributing to the weird, swaying harmony which rises and falls like the wind: "O Lord, search my heart." And the rich tenor finishes alone: "For you know when I'm right, when I'm wrong." They repeat the four lines. They have the first stanza of a new spiritual. Again the tenor rises on a new line: "Please Jesus, search my heart." The congregation makes a second stanza. The man at the piano, with eyes shut and body swinging backward and forward, follows the song in a most astonishing accompaniment. On they go, into the third and fourth stanzas: "Holy

Spirit, search my heart"; "I'm so glad, search my heart." A new spiritual is born.

* *
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"Will you," I asked Tom, "bring your wife and sing some of these unpublished spirituals for me?" He is quite willing.

Some evening, at an hour agreed upon, Tom and Rose and I sit round the kitchen table—intent—happy. They sing; I write the words.

Another evening, we take the written words and go to the piano, where I struggle to set down the elusive melodies. I do not attempt harmony. At best it would be white man's harmony. A new staff with notes indicating new intervals would be required. But I do not try to indicate the rhythm expressed by Rose and Tom in the delicate impulses of their voices, and in explosive syllables.

The following spirituals have been set down in this way. The melodies fit the first stanza, and are varied by the singer to fit the others. The melodies are, as to key and pitch, exactly as they were sung to me. All except one are in the key of G minor, using the natural minor scale; but wherever E is used, it is a natural instead of a flat.



To be sung slowly

1.

O Lord, search my heart;
O Lord, search my heart;
O Lord, search my heart;
For You know when I'm right, when I'm wrong.

2.

Please Jesus, search my heart;
Please Jesus, search my heart;
Please Jesus, search my heart;
For You know when I'm right, when I'm wrong.

3.

Holy Spirit, search my heart, etc.

4.

I'm so glad, search my heart, etc.

The first stanza in most of these songs is used as a refrain.

The Musical Quarterly



I have started for the Kingdom;
 I have started for the Kingdom;
 I have started for the Kingdom;
 I won't turn back; I won't turn back.

If my friends go back on me;
 If my friends go back on me;
 If my friends go back on me;
 I won't turn back; I won't turn back.

(An indefinite number of stanzas are added: If my mother goes back on me
 —my sister—my brother—my neighbours—everybody, etc.)



A PRAYER

To be sung kneeling

Yes, Lord, Thy will be done;
 Yes, Lord, Thy will be done.
 Thy word is settled in heaven.
 Yes, Lord, Thy will be done.

In my heart, Thy will be done;
 In my heart, Thy will be done.
 Thy word is settled in heaven.
 In my heart, Thy will be done.

(In my mind—In my soul—Everywhere, etc.)



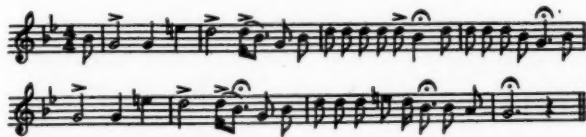
Glory, glory hallelujah!
 When I lay my burdens down.
 Glory, glory hallelujah!
 When I lay my burdens down.

All my trials will be over
When I lay my burdens down.
All my trials will be over
When I lay my burdens down.

(All my sorrows—burdens—troubles—warfare—sickness, etc.)

Last stanza:

I'm going home to live with Jesus
When I lay my burdens down.



This spiritual was brought to the Conference in Memphis two years ago by a "sister" from Kentucky.

1.

Sweet Jesus, sweet Jesus!
He's the Lily of the Valley, the Bright and Mornin' Star.
Sweet Jesus, sweet Jesus!
He's the Gov'nor of the nation, bless His name!

- (2) He's my Saviour, He's my Saviour.
He's the Lily of the Valley, etc.
- (3) Oh, how I love Him, how I love Him!
- (4) He sanctified me, He sanctified me!
- (5) He baptized me, He baptized me!
- (6) He saved me, yes, He saved me!
- (7) He's my Keeper, He's my Keeper!
- (8) He's my Healer, He's my Healer!

PAUL HINDEMITH

By WILLI REICH

PAUL HINDEMITH occupies a unique place among the living composers of Germany, inasmuch as today, at the age of thirty-six, after stormy beginnings, he must be regarded as the unrivalled leader of that section of the young generation which believes in carrying to its limit the idea that art-music should be adapted to the demands of its time. Hindemith himself formulated this tenet in 1927 in the following words: "It is to be regretted that in general so little relationship exists today between the producers and the consumers of music. A composer should write today only if he knows for what purpose he is writing. The days of composing for the sake of composing are perhaps gone forever. On the other hand, the demand for music is so great that composer and consumer ought most emphatically to come at last to an understanding." The demand that composers should create, not as a reflection of their personal moods, but directly out of the musical substance, is usually described as "the new realism," a term which, however, does not fully indicate the scope of the movement. The most significant thing about it seems the effort constantly to widen the circle of listeners to new music and to educate them to active coöperation. It is in this last sense that Hindemith's work has an important directive influence.

The characteristics that equip Hindemith for leadership in such a movement may easily be deduced from his early activities as a practical musician. At thirteen he was a full-fledged violinist; later he worked in opera and movie, studied composition with Bernhard Sekles and Arnold Mendelssohn, and at twenty became concertmaster of the Frankfort Opera. He founded the Amar String Quartet (from which he retired only in 1930), which has won a world-wide reputation for its playing of modern chamber music; and finally he became professor at the Hochschule in Berlin, where he is teaching theory.

Hindemith's creative activity follows the curve of these briefly-sketched events of his life. Since part of his early work is



Paul Hindemith.



still unpublished (and probably will remain so), I must refer the reader for information concerning it to Heinrich Strobel's monograph (*Melosbücherei*) which, together with the studies of Franz Willms and A. Machabey, furnish so far the only authentic presentation of Hindemith's art.

At first, influenced by his experiences in the opera orchestra, Hindemith's music leaned upon Wagner, Richard Strauss and the French impressionists: but his sense for grotesque effects and characteristic rhythms soon imparted to it a personal note. His predilection for the grotesque is especially apparent in Op. 4, a *Lustige Sinfonietta* for small orchestra, inspired by amusing poems of Christian Morgenstern. The first String Quartet (Op. 10)¹ shows distinct polyphonic tendencies and that development of thematic ideas through purely melodic invention which is so characteristic of Hindemith and which sharply contrasts with the style of composition based on elaboration of short motives. His next work includes a series of *Sonatas* for stringed instruments, with or without piano accompaniment, and shows that Hindemith had reached a noteworthy concentration in harmony and rhythm. Even though these sonatas, as Strobel rightly remarked, are typical of Hindemith's "release from late romanticism," his first works for the stage, which appeared in 1921, indicate a distinct "relapse" into the realm of the Wagnerian music-drama. The three one-act Operas *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Op. 12), *Das Nusch-Nuschi* (Op. 20) and *Sancta Susanna* (Op. 21), to the somewhat grotesque texts of Hokuscha, Blei, and Stramm, are still saturated with *Tristan* harmonies, although in the dance-music of the puppet play *Das Nusch-Nuschi* the purely linear style of composition, typical of Hindemith, frequently breaks through.

Much more advanced are the Song Cycles (Op. 14 and 18) of the same period. The first consists of three hymns by Walt Whitman: the thematic line of the "Revolutionary Hymn" is distinctly related to the String Quartet (Op. 16) which follows it. This quartet was performed with great success at the Festivals at Donaueschingen and Salzburg, and made the composer's name known for the first time in the international world of music.² A series of vocal works came next. Polyphonic voice-leading is more and more prominent and becomes the characteristic feature of

¹Introduced to American audiences by the South Mountain Quartet at Mrs. Coolidge's Pittsfield Festival in 1925.

²It was played in New York (and for the first time in America) by the Budapest String Quartet at the League of Composers concert of January 4th, 1931, and again by the Hart House Quartet on January 12th.

Hindemith's style. In the free handling of independent voices Hindemith shows a decided kinship with Eric Satie and the youthful French "Six" who made of the aging Satie their patron saint. The *Marienleben* (Op. 27), a cycle of poems by Rainer Maria Rilke, the *Serenades* (Op. 35),¹ and the two last String Quartets are important mile-stones in this development. At this time, too, Hindemith suffered the influence of jazz. Of this fact especially the *Kammermusik No. 1* for small orchestra (Op. 24) and the "Suite 1922" for piano (Op. 26) give evidence. The piano suite reveals in the form of elaborate parodies Hindemith's break with the modern society dances. The piano is here used principally to embody the rhythm, and of this the composer speaks in very characteristic "Directions for Use" which precede the last movement. With these works and the series of solo sonatas (Op. 25 and 31), Hindemith quit for some time the realm of chamber music and turned to *concertante* writing, a form of composition which at that time sprang up in many places and led to a marked increase in modern instrumental virtuosity. His Op. 36, containing four Concertos, for piano, violoncello, violin, and viola, respectively, with chamber orchestra, is characteristic of this period.

Subsequently he showed an increasing predilection for the stage. The first step in this direction is the dance-pantomime of Max Krell, *Der Dämon* (Op. 28). Hindemith treats his subject, which is still decidedly romantic (the conquest of chastity by sensuality), purely in dance-forms presented on a stage without special settings, and drawn by the music in sharp profile. His first large opera, *Cardillac* (after a tale by E. T. A. Hoffmann), deals with the story of the ingenious goldsmith who is so enamored of his own handiwork that he always steals the jewelry back from those to whom he has sold it, even committing murder after murder, until he himself dies a violent death. Hindemith handles this sombre subject in an archaic style, accompanying the vocal parts, always strictly cast in "numbers," by the concertante playing of the orchestral instruments, yet without being able to escape the romantic and romanticizing influence of the gruesome story. Another problem of form occupied Hindemith in his next work for the stage, *Hin und zurück*, a sketch after Marcellus Schiffer, in which the events of a matrimonial tragedy that reaches its culmination in death are unravelled after the dénouement in reverse order, dramatically and musically.

So far, Hindemith has said his last word in the realm of opera in *Neues vom Tage*. His tendencies in matters of form appear

¹Performed at the Chicago Festival of Chamber Music, October, 1930.

most clearly in this work, since they here serve material of the present day, far removed from classic norms. The point of the story (text again after Marcellus Schiffer) lies in the fact that a married couple, having become the object of public interest through the sensationalism of newspapers, the theatre, movies, vaudeville, etc., is no longer able to get back into the solitude of private life, but is compelled, against its will, to live out its days in the glaring spotlight of publicity. Hindemith has been extraordinarily successful in the musical interpretation of this subject, which offers opportunities for all sorts of grotesque episodes. Through the whole opera pulses the rhythm of life in a great city, cleverly conveyed through modern dance rhythms and subtle instrumental effects. The voices move for the most part in a fluent *parlando* which, however, passes occasionally into appropriately developed solo and ensemble numbers. The whole effect is most striking; and this work constitutes, for the present at least, the most definitive invasion of the opera stage by modern social life.

The Concerto for viola and the Trio (Op. 42) for piano, viola and heckelphone (or tenor saxophone) seem to introduce a new series of instrumental compositions.¹ But here we must note another important feature of Hindemith's work, without some description of which no picture of his influence would be complete: his attitude toward mechanical and practical music, toward the "Jugendbewegung"—music for youth—and the consideration of music-lovers in general.

As leading organizer of the festivals in Baden-Baden, Hindemith has repeatedly set the younger generation of composers the task of illustrating films with music, of contributing to military band programs works of modern character, of adapting good music to mechanical instruments and radio broadcasts. Along all these lines he has himself led the way by examples, and he has enriched this particular literature² with countless amusing and appropriate compositions. Even more lasting has been his influence on the

¹Other recent compositions are the Concerto for organ and chamber-orchestra (Op. 46, No. 2), performed by the late Lynnwood Farnam at the Library of Congress Festival of Chamber Music, in Washington, in October, 1929, and the Concerto for piano with chamber-orchestra of eleven brasses and two harps, performed for the first time at the Chicago Festival of Chamber Music, October, 1930, by Emma Lübbecke-Job, who introduces Hindemith's piano works to their European audiences.

²The Film-Music Studio which he conducts in connection with the Hochschule is typical of the way he approaches these subjects and develops methods for working them out. Here young composers, mostly students of proved talent and ability in solving their musical problems, study the mechanical processes of film-production and the synchronizing of musical measures with sections of film, and, for practice in finding expression appropriate to the various elements of a given story, compose music to old films, cut and fitted for the purpose, in different styles, sentimental, dramatic, or free.

"Jugendbewegung" in music and the encouragement of the general music-lover, which, as is well known, have made a tremendous advance in recent years in Germany, but which so far have been preoccupied largely with the cultivation of old music. Hindemith was one of the first to direct this movement toward new music, setting it new aims. A formal manifesto was promulgated by Fritz Jöde, leader of the "Jugendbewegung," Hans Mersmann, its outstanding pedagogue, and Hindemith, the most important passage in which reads as follows: "The developments of the last decade have made it increasingly clear that the work of our generation is splitting in two directions. On the one hand, a music is developing which roots in an atmosphere that is in the last analysis social, and which is adapting itself with growing instinctive certainty to the demands and the style of music festivals. On the other hand, music is remembering its own characteristic aims; it is seeking the lost way to common fellowship, is turning from an artificially exaggerated subjective activity to a new, simple practicality and to the drawing together of a wider circle.

"This last type of music embodies the attitude and aims of the 'Jugendbewegung.' Out of the rebirth of ancient polyphony has grown an increasingly strong connection between this movement and the creative powers of our time. These two tendencies are now confluent. Leading composers are purposely and affirmatively busying themselves with music for youth, since here a rich soil has been prepared by systematic education, an attitude which, nourished on old music, has sought to assimilate the music of the present."

Hindemith has himself written for this purpose a number of pieces to be sung and played by amateurs and friends of music, *Sing- und Spiel-musiken für Liebhaber und Musikfreunde* (Op. 43 and 45), and his *Schulwerk für Instrumental-Zusammenspiel* (Op. 44).¹ His most recent larger work also, the *Lehrstück* (literally "Teaching-Piece"), belongs to this group and is particularly important as it has been the model for a whole series of compositions by other composers. The *Lehrstück* (text by Bert Brecht), which is oratorio-like in character, deals with a fallen aviator who is first questioned by the masses about his intentions and then lectured upon the futility of his efforts. This work was epoch-

¹The *Spielmusik*, Op. 43, No. 1, was performed at the Library of Congress Festival of Chamber Music, in Washington, in April, 1928.

The Eight Canons and the Eight Pieces for string quartet of the *Schulwerk* give excellent training to ear and fingers; while technically simple, they accustom the players to the sort of harmony and voice-leading they will encounter in modern works.

making, less because of its content than because of its curious form. Hindemith's purpose in this composition is expressed in the following passage from its Preface:

This piece is not intended for use in theatre and concert performances in which a few people contribute to the pleasure or instruction of the many. The public takes part in the performance as one of the actors: it sings those parts which are marked in the score for the "Masses." Certain "Individuals" from among them, who have practised these passages in advance, first sing them under the leadership of a director (or chorus-leader) to the larger group which then repeats them. In performances where the participants are not too numerous a singing through of these passages should be sufficient. But for a large assembly it would be well to have music and words projected on a screen. The titles of the different sections may also be thus projected. It is conceivable that the soli, choruses and Masses will not succeed at once in joining with each other to the satisfaction of the participants. With this sort of common participation it is hardly possible to achieve a perfectly smooth performance of every number, but thorough study and practice is preferable to a mere playing through.

Since the only object of the *Lehrstück* is to make all those present participate in the performance and not primarily, as a work of art, to create particular musical and poetic impressions, it is to be adjusted, so far as possible, to the purposes of the occasion. For this reason the course of the piece indicated in the score is rather a suggestion than a prescription. Omissions, additions, and rearrangements are possible.

Though it has not so far been possible in performances of the *Lehrstück* to achieve the full coöperation of the public, yet the piece has, as already indicated, given rise to a whole new type of compositions and has enriched the musical life of Germany in most characteristic fashion.

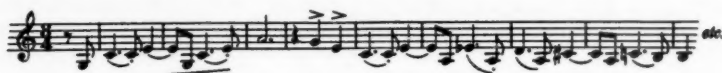
One of Hindemith's chief contributions to our time, indeed, lies in the fact that, with his spontaneous and genuine musical gift he fashions likeable matter yet "modern," in that it presents us with new harmonic experiences, new problems of hearing and of execution, tiding us over into more unaccustomed idioms and breaking down our prejudices against what is new by showing us that it may be interesting and agreeable and quite within our grasp.

* * *

With the sketching of an artist's life and the classification of his works the essence of a biographical essay is in general exhausted. But to the composer full justice can never thus be done, for his

art is not to be grappled with in common speech, and a line of his music will often reveal to us more of the true nature of his creative activity than a long and wordy discourse. This picture of one of the most "realistic" of living composers would be quite incomplete without some attempt at showing and commenting upon certain steps in the development of his style by means of a few musical examples.

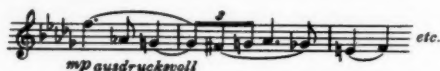
As an indication of how Hindemith's early melodic structure recalls Richard Strauss, let us take a theme from an unpublished prize school-composition, a String Quartet in C Major:¹



The first published String Quartet (Op. 10) already shows much more severe handling of the melodic lines and several other characteristic features of Hindemith's writing—skilful invention, typical rhythms and figures, and that logical treatment of the instruments which is perhaps due to his being a string-player himself:



The Wagnerian derivation of the three one-act plays may be seen in the following example from *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen*:



The Piano Suite (Op. 26) reveals Hindemith at his most characteristic. Its five movements entitled "March," "Shimmy," "Nocturne," "Boston," "Ragtime," are held together only by the dance element. "Ragtime," the beginning of which Hindemith used later, is preceded by the following "Directions for Use": "Disregard everything you have learned in your piano lessons."

¹Permission to reprint these musical examples has been kindly granted by Hindemith's publishers, B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz.

Do not long consider whether you are playing D sharp with the fourth or the sixth finger. Play this piece very wildly but always strictly in rhythm, like a machine. Look upon the piano here as an interesting sort of percussion instrument and handle it accordingly."



At the close of Hindemith's "romantic" period we have the dance-pantomime *Der Dämon*, the following dance motif from which illustrates the style of the composition, a style which stops at no harshness of tone-combination:



The following example from the *Marienleben* (Op. 27), a work which marks a high point in Hindemith's compositions for voice, will give an idea of his vocal style:



The finely-carved counterpoint which runs through the whole of the opera *Cardillac* is illustrated by the following selection:

A musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major, 2/4 time, and features a complex, flowing melody with many accidentals. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves with a dense, rhythmic texture. The lyrics are: "Acht! Brich nicht ent-zwei, un-ent-schloss-nes, ge-teil-tes Herz!" followed by "etc."

In the light opera *Neues vom Tage* Hindemith's manner has undergone a complete change:

A musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major, 2/4 time, and features a more straightforward melody than the previous example. The piano accompaniment is also in 2/4 time and has a more rhythmic, less complex texture. The lyrics are: "Wir sind uns ü-ber-drüs-sig." followed by "etc."

The following verse from the *Lehrstück* is indicative of the pregnant structure of this piece, in which the instrumental parts almost continually support the voices:

A musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major, 2/4 time, and features a simple melody. The piano accompaniment is in 2/4 time and consists of a series of chords that support the vocal line. The lyrics are: "Er hat sich we-nig ü-ber den Bo-den er-ho-ben"

Finally let us quote an example from the recently published *Chorlieder für Knaben* to show in what a stimulating way Hinde-

mith uses this material which is so very elementary in its technical possibilities:



The thematic material of this verse is used in three different ways and, together with many similar passages, is undoubtedly suited to awaken early the polyphonic sense of young people. Indeed the value of Hindemith's whole activity on behalf of the "Jugendbewegung" in music is to be measured by his consistent work toward this end.

* *
*

In a recent open letter Bruno Stürmer asked Hindemith for an explanation of his increasing efforts in the direction of "collectivistic music," and apostrophized him in the following manner: "In the glorious first Chamber Music Festival in Donaueschingen in 1921 you took the place of leader of the young generation. In the course of your career you have shown much that is new, much that is characteristic and even much that is great. You have given us compositions of all sorts, you have become famous in an astonishingly short time, you are even a symbol, in foreign lands, of German youth. Followers have come to you from all walks of life. People have gathered about you, have had high hopes of you. You might have become a Messiah of German music, for, like Mozart, you combined an original musical force with teeming inspiration."

Herewith Hindemith's position has been fairly well outlined. Stürmer goes on to suggest that there are contradictions in his work, a suggestion with which it is difficult to agree; it seems rather that Hindemith's progress toward a collectivistic art has followed as of necessity. The fact that a composer can understand his own time so clearly as Hindemith does is such an interesting phenomenon that all considerations of a purely esthetic nature become less important in comparison. May these pages, without being burdened with excessive detail, give a fairly clear picture

of the compelling evolution that Hindemith has undergone. To sum up briefly: Hindemith's artistic personality, despite its often incomprehensible many-sidedness, presents the example of a strong and consistent individuality which, endowed with a masterful command of the technical elements of his art, embraces all branches of musical creativeness and contributes towards the healthy progress of its further growth.

(Translated by M. D. Herter Norton.)

BEETHOVEN'S "GROSSE FUGE"

By SYDNEY GREW

I.

BEETHOVEN turned to the fugue in the last years of his life with an intensity of purpose previously unknown in the history of music, even in the case of Bach. He had always written fugato; but an episode in the fugal manner is not a fugue. Once or twice in his middle years he wrote an authentic fugue of large size, as in the C major Rasumovsky quartet, Op. 59, No. 2. But not until he was turned forty-five did he win the kind of vision one must call "fugal," and he was turned fifty before he made the two or three fugues which stand apart from all his other works in sublimity.

All masters of creative art rise toward the end of their lives to this kind of vision, if fate is kind and nothing happens to break their development. Therefore the portion of their work which is an expression of the wisdom and understanding born of this vision might be called fugal, whatever its character. For *fugue*, as I would have it understood in what I have to say here, is not a form, not even a style, but a manner of apprehension, thought, and utterance. Locke says in one of his essays: "There are fundamental truths, the basis upon which a great many others rest; these are teeming truths, rich in store with which they furnish the mind and, like the lights of heaven, give light and evidence to other things." The creative masters are in touch with such fundamental truths from the start, but only in their maturity do the truths "teem" for them and give "light and evidence" that prove and illuminate all other matters. "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Romeo and Juliet," and "Comus" are not fugal, in any sense of the term. "The Tempest" and "Paradise Lost" are, and so in different degrees are "Hamlet" and "Macbeth."

The three greatest of Beethoven's later fugues are those in the *Hammerclavier* sonata, Op. 106 (1818); in the Solemn Mass—the finale of the Credo, *Et vitam venturi* (1818-1825); and in the String Quartet, Op. 130 (1825)—the finale, afterwards detached and published separately as Op. 133. It is of the last of these that I am writing here. These three are all in B flat—inevitably so: Beethoven could not have lived for them in any other key, any

more than in the matter of the fifth symphony he could have lived in any other key than C minor. The piano fugue and the quartet fugue have been universally condemned until recently, first as impracticable for the performers, secondly as unintelligible for the listeners. The English historian, Dr. Ernest Walker, in a book on Beethoven (1906) calls the quartet fugue "outlandish" and "uncouthly inconsequential," and his words still prevail in ordinary critical quarters.

This *Grosse Fuge* is the supreme mystery of classical music. It is a myth even among professed students of the composer and professed students of the art of fugue composition. No one seems to know it well. So far as I have been able to trace, there have been only three attempts, by German authors, to analyse and discuss the work: those of Theodor Helm, Karl Louis Bargheer, and Hugo Riemann; I have not seen these, but it is not likely that the treatment of the fugue is in any of them specially significant.

Paul Bekker, in his great work on Beethoven, passes it over with a few broad metaphysical remarks. Joseph de Marliave, a young French student who wrote a big monograph on the Beethoven string quartets, found the fugue too much for him; instead of dealing with it himself, he incorporated some notes taken by a student of the Schola Cantorum at a lecture delivered by Vincent d'Indy in 1909: the notes bristle with mistakes and confused expressions; they cannot represent d'Indy's ideas, and they indicate clearly that neither the student who jotted them down, de Marliave who adopted them, nor the English translator of his book (Oxford University Press) were acquainted with the work discussed.

My examination of bibliographies and indexes to periodicals has brought to light no record of any article on the fugue in current literature for the past thirty years. The voluminous topical writings in the Centenary Year (1927), in England and America and on the Continent, did not, so far as I am aware, produce a single paragraph of value dealing with the fugue; except a short passage by the veteran Alfred Kalisch contrasting the Lener and the Joachim performances. If this work had been a moral slip of Beethoven's youth, it could not have been obscured and glossed over with a more kindly intention than it was during that very crowded period.

The fugue has suddenly become next door to popular in England, and circumstances have made it necessary for all the critics to speak about it; but of the sixty or seventy individual remarks I have seen in the English periodicals and newspapers

since 1925, I have not met one from a writer who has obviously studied the work, even to the extent of a few hours of analytical observation of the miniature full score (Philharmonia.) Worse than that, I have not seen a comment on the work which has not either repeated one of the nineteenth century condemnatory *clichés* ("impracticable," "turgid," "extravagant," "obscure," etc.) or implied the writer's doubt as to the work being really "music"—(until this actual moment of writing, when in a press-cutting from *The London Times* I read a word of unqualified approval, couched in terms which indicate that the music has moved the writer spiritually.) But this dark picture has its bright spots: every one of the sixty or seventy English critics who slight or question the work makes some direct error of fact.

II.

If each of my present readers will ask himself what his acquaintance with the *Grosse Fuge* is, he will probably find that the answer he must make is "Very slight," or "Nil." I myself had an old copy twenty years ago of the arrangement for piano duet made by Beethoven. This I never attempted to play, and I never even read it. Ten years ago I acquired in a bundle of old music a set of the parts of the fugue. These again I never looked at. In 1927 I bought a complete set of the Philharmonia edition of miniature full scores of the Beethoven works for string quartet, but though I studied and wrote on the sixteen quartets, I did not do anything with the fugue.

All through these years I promised myself that one day I would study the piece—as a man living in the Hebrides promises himself that one day he will visit London, or as the Canadian of the third or fourth generation promises himself that when he can manage it he will go "home" for a few weeks holiday.

And at last, on the morning of December 17th, 1930, I was informed that the fugue was to be issued in phonograph records by the Columbia Company, in the interpretation of the Lener Quartet, whose performances in England have been the means of making the piece familiar to the public, but which I had never heard. I at once put all other work aside, and began to study the score. This task I stayed at, for some twelve hours each day, until the evening of the 21st. On the 28th I resumed it, for another three or four days, until I probably knew the work thoroughly, so far as one can get to know such a work through the eye only (which is actually not very far, because the eye cannot win through to the

spirit in the case of music which requires all the fine powers of performers to make it real).

Now my object in giving these particulars here is to lead to the point of telling the reader, first, that I have never, in thirty years, so absolutely *enjoyed* myself in any musical occupation as here, secondly, that I have reached the position where I feel that never before have I really understood a piece of music, and thirdly, that I seem to have discovered the greatest piece of music in existence. The last point is, of course, absurd. I have felt the same many times about other works. But absurd and recurrent though it may be it means that this fugue is, in its particular direction, a work of indubitable greatness, of which so long as a musician remains ignorant, he had not—in my opinion—done his duty by himself or his art.

Two other personal details remain to be told. My first hearing of the phonograph record was disappointing. Partly, I expected too much. Partly, I had formed my own conception of the music, and so another conception was disturbing. But after a couple of hours of listening, the audible music and the highly individual interpretation absorbed me. I realised that I was in association with the real things of the world of thought, power, and imagination, both creative and executive. And I was satisfied I had gained something I could never lose. Also I forgave the hundred years of neglect and condemnation this work has suffered, for I saw that, not knowing the music, the world—condemning what it did not understand—had not known what it was doing.

Then on February 2nd, 1931, I gave a conversational lecture on the fugue to the students of the University of Birmingham, with, of course, phonograph reproduction. I have never known before that young people could be talked to about music in the way these young people were, nor that any one could take in such music at first hearing, nor again that it could be so hard a task to get rid of a public audience. We were together two hours, and I made myself unpopular by refusing at the close to play the fugue straight through from the start to finish once again.

III.

How are we to explain the strange history of such a composition? The fugue was first played at a concert in March, 1826, by Prince Rasumovsky's private quartet, Schuppanzigh being the leader. It was then part of the Quartet in B flat, Op. 130. The audience were puzzled and confused by the music, and so Beet-

hoven took the fugue away from the quartet and wrote the present rondo finale.

Artaria published the fugue in May, 1827, a few weeks after Beethoven's death, in the string parts, and also in the arrangement for piano duet. Apparently no one attempted to play it again until the time of Mendelssohn's friend, the great Ferdinand David (1810-1873).

David was the first violinist and quartet leader of the middle of the century to study and perform any of the posthumous quartets, and he passed on his experience and influence to his various pupils—Japha, Röntgen, Jacobsohn, Schradieck, F. Hegar, Wilhelmj, Joachim. All these played the quartets, but only Joachim, so far as it seems possible to learn, ever put the fugue into his programmes, and this was not until the late 1880's.

Other quartets studied and performed it, in the same period, for in the December of 1887 the Heckmann Quartet gave what was probably the first English performance, in the course of some "historical recitals." (George Grove had written in his Dictionary in 1879 that the work was "never played," and he was familiar with musical activities in Germany and Austria as well as in London.) About the same time Hans von Bülow played the work with his Meiningen orchestra, probably modifying a few of the exceedingly high passages in the first violin part.

Altogether, one might reasonably say that the fugue received less than seventy-five public performances in the seventy-five years from 1826 to 1900, and it is not at all unlikely that it did not receive half that number. As late as 1911 Donald F. Tovey, writing in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," could say that the work was abandoned as impracticable. But already Weingartner had made an arrangement for string orchestra,¹ which was published, and Vincent d'Indy had begun his regular rehearsals of the work with the students' band of the Schola Cantorum, a practice which, I understand, he has maintained for more than twenty-five years; and the London String-Quartet, of which the leader was Albert Sammons, had been working on it—with such success, that in the fifteen or twenty complete cycles of the Beethoven string-quartets which they gave in England between 1910 and the war, they included it as a matter of course.

But no one, quartet leader or orchestral conductor, could so render the music that it was grateful to the ears of the listener, or

¹This was performed by the Cincinnati Orchestra under Fritz Reiner, October 23rd and 24th, 1925. Wilhelm Furtwaengler has also made an orchestral arrangement, first performed in America by the Philharmonic Society of New York, March 24th and 25th, 1927, under his own leadership.

interpret it so that it was intelligible, or in any way so offer it to a student and critic that he would be moved to master the work at his desk and then preach its virtues abroad by his pen. Instead, every performance up to about 1925 seems to have confirmed people in the notions already fixed traditionally upon the composition. A critic of the 1887 Heckmann performance in London said, "Barring some isolated attractive episodes, the *Great Fugue* may, without irreverence, be described as the biggest, most abstruse, bizarre, and unharmonious piece of musical extravagance ever written in the world of chamber music, of which the afflicted master himself, could he have heard it, might with good reason have said (as R. Wagner did of his youthful symphony), 'It does not sound well.'"

Dr. Ernest Walker's "uncouth inconsequentiality" has already been referred to; it comes in a passage that contains the following: "... The outlandish *Great Fugue* which (so far as seems to be known) not even Joachim, to whom the popularisation of the late quartets is practically entirely due, has ventured to play in public." As far down as 1927 the late Eaglefield Hull could say in his book on "Music: Classical, Romantic, Modern," that "the work is a terrifically long-drawn fugue, and is regarded as incomprehensible by even the most ardent admirers of Beethoven's third style."

Yet in his last year the work was being repeated "by request" at the Lener Quartet serial recitals of Beethoven's chamber-music, and receiving the warmest and most spontaneous applause of all the items on the programmes of which it formed part, as the newspaper notices recorded—even those written by critics who continued the nineteenth century condemnation of the music.¹

The secret of the Lener's success with the fugue is simply that, understanding its spirit, the players learned how to play it so that it does not sound hard. I do not know when they first added it to their repertory; but the first record I have is of a performance of theirs in Manchester in the spring of 1925. Therefore the work had to wait a full hundred years² before it was brought passionately, romantically, and with the right æsthetic power to human ears.

I must mention a delightful sequel to this Manchester performance. The head of the Manchester Royal College of Music was the veteran Adolf Brodsky—he who nearly fifty years ago

¹It was about this time that Harold Bauer, a master of Beethoven's piano music of the last period, studied the fugue and made a superb transcription for two pianos.

²The Kneisel Quartet, which disbanded in 1917, had for several years played the late Beethoven Quartets, including the *Grosse Fuge* which they performed not only intelligibly but with great power and breadth, leaving no doubt in the minds of their listeners that this is, despite its difficulties, a great piece of music.

proved that Tchaikowsky's violin concerto was "practicable," after that work had languished for a long while under Auer's scornful refusal to have anything to do with it. All the members of the Brodsky Quartet lived in Manchester, where, indeed, they were in the habit of playing once or twice every year. The demonstration of the young Lener people fired the emulative zeal of Brodsky and his colleagues. They set to work on the fugue; and on April 5th, 1927, they triumphantly presented it to a Manchester audience.

IV.

Beethoven's writing of fugue differs from Bach's precisely as the facial expressions of the two men differ. There is an awful calm in the look of Bach's face; in Beethoven's, with its wild flying hair, there is an awful rapture. A poet, aiming to convey the *Grosse Fuge* into verse, could indeed make Beethoven's hair, as it is shown in the most familiar portraits (say Stieler's, 1920, with the composer holding in his hand the score of the Solemn Mass), a symbol of the music. When Beethoven tramped the country in a stormy wind, head uncovered, his hair would wave with the wildness of the music in the B flat fugue (the first in the piece); when in the divine rage of creation he thrust his hand into it so that it seemed to be leaping upward from his head, he did something that would supply the poet with illustrations for the A flat fugue (the second in the work)—especially for that great passage in the second violin which comes immediately before the cadencing of the music into E flat (bars 383-404).

This *Grosse Fuge* is at one and the same time music of Knowledge and music of Power—to adopt a distinction used in the discussion of types of literature. Both the knowledge and the power are different from Bach's, as the drama of action is different from the lyric of thought and contemplation. Bach expresses achievement, Beethoven the act of achieving. A Bach fugue dwells within its goal from the start; this Beethoven wins to the goal; the Bach is in the perfect tense of grammar, the Beethoven is in the present tense, superb with its living gerunds.

Therefore while the Bach fugue is art of one idea, the Beethoven is art of two ideas. The two in the end prove to be one and the same, of course, as in the Browning philosophy evil proves to be good, but undeveloped; but the two ideas *appear* to be opposed individualities in the beginning, and the purpose of the work is to reconcile them. The spiritual and formal union of the two themes of the *Grosse Fuge* is first effected at the E flat cadence I have just

mentioned (bars 416-452); and the moment of this spiritual communion of two hitherto conflicting individualities is one of the moments of sublimity in the art of music: if ever the Divine kiss of forgiveness and the humble rapture of the Penitent were reflected in our art, it is here, in the bit of fugue from bar 414 to bar 432, and in the immediate sequel.

The nineteenth century could not understand this work because it could not reconcile it with what it knew of fugue from Bach and Händel. Even to-day the critics who have to mention the work in the newspapers speak of it as though its modifications of the form established by Bach are lapses from grace which Beethoven would have done well to avoid. They say, for example, that there are too many full closes in the latter half of the composition. But those full closes are of the very substance of the spirit of the work. They exist in the work because in 1780-1820 the art of the symphony existed. Beethoven, living in his own time, had to speak the language of his own time. He had to incorporate in this, his last creation of its particular type, everything, without exception, that the music of his day had discovered and exercised. The case is the same with Mozart, as in the fugue-finale of the "Jupiter" symphony, written thirty-seven years earlier. It is the same also with Bach, whose fugues of 1722 (first book of the "48") differ far more from those of the composers of 1622 than this of Beethoven differs from his.

The people of the nineteenth century said Beethoven could not really write fugue. They forgot that the people of the eighteenth century said the same of Bach, some of them actually forbidding their pupils to study his examples of the form; and the two generations next after the generation of Bach objected to him so strongly that they gave up his music altogether, except for a few of the motets and organ pieces.

Speaking to a friend about the B flat quartet and its fugue, Beethoven said: "Art demands we shall not stand still. This B flat has a new manner of part-writing; and thank God, the fancy is less lacking than ever before." By fancy, Beethoven means imagination, or spiritual vision. There was as radical a change in the mind and soul of the world after the time of Beethoven (it began, of course, in his lifetime) as there was after the time of Bach: Chopin, Schumann, and Liszt differ from Beethoven just as completely as Mozart and Haydn differ from Bach; and so it would have been against Nature for the nineteenth century to understand the *Grosse Fuge* spiritually, just as it would have been for the second half of the eighteenth century to understand the

Matthew Passion, the Mass in B minor, and the *Kunst der Fuge*.

V.

The *Grosse Fuge* moves by regular phrases. Only once or twice do the phrases change from the four- or the eight-bar periodicity. Its larger metrical units are therefore as clear almost as those of a hymn-tune or a march. This is a bad quality, according to the law as laid down and practised by Bach. It is a good quality, according to the law of the epoch that produced the sonata and the symphony.

The work proceeds by perpetual modification of theme. As the "thought" develops, so the theme changes. This again is bad according to Bach, but good according to the law of the nineteenth century, which lives by "transformation of theme"—a kind of art that culminates in the *leit-motiv* of Wagner. In fact, the main theme of the *Grosse Fuge* is not a "fugue subject" at all, but a *leit-motiv* in the Wagnerian manner.

Every one who has occasion to speak of the work complains about its "harshness." Allowing the term for the moment, we need not be afraid to allow the quality. The music is as sharp (in places) as tonal music can well be. Beethoven freely uses the accented appoggiatura, in any part, with no regard for the notes of the harmony with which it may coincide: thus if one part runs to the note B flat, for instance, and closes there, another part, starting simultaneously with the finish of the first one, and having harmonically as its beginning that same B flat, will strike in with the C above: and the discord may be, not at the interval of the ninth, but at that of the second. With the same freedom Beethoven uses anticipation and retardations of harmonic progressions, often simultaneously, so that when a chord is present formally, one or more of the parts coinciding with the beat that has the chord will belong to the chord of the beat preceding; and then while this chord still exists, an individual part will shift to a note belonging to the chord yet to come on the next beat.

These "freedoms" are sometimes in the fugal or imitative parts, sometimes in the florid accompanying part. They go so far that on many occasions one cannot say definitely what a chord on a particular beat is; and there are places where the analyst would be justified in saying that the music is proceeding by two chords simultaneously. (A superb instance lies in the A flat fugue, at the close of the first half, bars 365-370, where the chords of B flat minor and F major are most thrillingly crowded one on top

of the other in the first stages of the attempt to win through to what proves eventually—bar 414—the key of E flat.)

The harmonic "restlessness" of the music is occasionally complained about in the same way. Beethoven's local modulations are certainly often at the rate of two in a bar; and the progressions are not merely chromatic inflexions. But it is this very quality of "restlessness" that affords one of the prime clues to the *spirit* of the music, and to complain of it is about as sensible as to complain that the work is written for stringed instruments. It would be different if the key were ever in doubt, or if the tonal wave of every phrase were not most brilliantly clear. As it is, I think that in the entire range of music the art and science of harmonic and modulatory composition are nowhere employed with a more masterly certainty than here, or with the authority of a more assured aim or purpose. The music is, in this respect, as firmly architectural as any Gothic cathedral. It is authentic Beethoven, and it differs from the Beethoven we know in our everyday musical lives simply because its spiritual subject is more advanced and more lofty. And when the labour is ended, the goal won is as broad and steady, in harmony, key, and part, as that of any quiet piano adagio from the works of the composer's early years. To condemn Beethoven on these two counts of harshness and restlessness is to show oneself blind to his subject.

How little the form of the work has been observed in the right way is shown by the persistence with which all writers whose remarks I have seen say that the *Grosse Fuge* and the fugue of the *Hammerclavier* sonata in B flat, Op. 106, are of much the same kind. This is wrong. The two works are of quite different kind. The piano fugue lies *above* its key, gaining D major. The quartet fugue lies *below* its key, dwelling in G flat and A flat. Only once does it win upward for a moment into sharp keys, and that is at the close of the first half of the A flat fugue (the "spiritual" fugue), bars 332-345, where it ranges through sharp keys from G flat to F, only to be at once (bar 347) turned back into flat keys. The summit of the work is reached in bars 609-629, where the music lives for a moment (in *pianissimo* tone and serene *sostenuto*) in A minor, for all the world in the way the white spire of a church tower lives in the blue sky; and this touch of A minor is all the *Grosse Fuge* has to show against the D major episode of the *Hammerclavier*; though it is still far more superbly affecting.

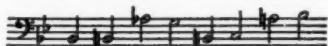
Then, where the *Hammerclavier* is full of scientific devices, the *Grosse* is void of them. The earlier of these two works belongs to the same world as the A minor fugue of the first part of Bach's

"48," a piece of superb intellectuality; the later belongs to the same world as the B flat minor fugue of the second part of the "48," a world where mind and science are submerged in spirituality. Beethoven taught himself how to write the *Grosse Fuge* by means of the *Hammerclavier fugue*. The *Hammerclavier fugue* is magnificent, but it is not sublime; though we should have thought it was, if in the *Grosse Fuge* Beethoven had not subsequently shown us what real sublimity is. In the one he is as a student, in the other as a master—more than that, a seer, poet, philosopher, and prophet—and the forms of the two works differ accordingly.

VI.

I find it hard to bring these wandering remarks to an end, so illimitable are the matters of importance which appertain to the subject, with regard both to the music itself and to what it signifies in art and humanity.

The sequence of intervals in Beethoven's theme, for instance,



can be traced in all high fugal music, from Frescobaldi to Bach and to later composers of the Bach school. Then buried in it is the name B A C H (B flat, A, C, B natural). Its nature, again, is as that of the resistance and thrust which in architecture hold a building in its state of being—the thrust that would lower the tonality from B flat to E flat, the resistance that denies E flat and achieves B flat (this mighty force operates all through the work: it is the formal clue to its poetic character). Yet again, the final calm (bars 565-667), with its ecstasy of confident assurance, is an expression of the conclusions arrived at by all the noble religions and philosophies of the world; the playing with the final cadence (bars 702-717) is an expression of that light-heartedness and freedom from care which we call faith; and the union of the two themes (the last phrase of all) is an expression of the ultimate merging of soul and flesh with that first prime cause of things which we call Goodness.

I would go so far as to say, not only that we do not know Beethoven, or even music, until we know this work, but that we do not understand life and humanity. If this seems an extravagant statement, for me to make, I will ask the reader to bear in mind that the fugue has, for myself, illuminated everything I have ever known or thought of things of beauty, character, and significance in any art or in any department of existence.

To end, however, and on a lighter note. In Goethe's *Faust* Mephistopheles hears the angels chanting "Pardon to sinners and life to the dust." Their song is contrary to his nature, and he expresses himself on it accordingly: "Mis-töne höre ich; garstiges Geklimper" ("Discord I hear, and filthy jingling.") The nineteenth century heard in the *Grosse Fuge* discord and filthy jingling. It said so. And it said it with amazement that the beloved Beethoven could have perpetrated such a "monster" (one of the pet terms of condemnation). The century should have been more modest; it should have stood before the fugue as Blake stood before creation and its mysteries, and have done no more than question:

Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the lamb make thee?

THE NATURE OF THE MINOR HARMONY


By MATTHEW SHIRLAW

THE nature of the minor harmony is sometimes held to be a matter of little interest and no practical importance.

This opinion, however, is difficult to reconcile with the controversies that break out at more or less regular intervals in musical periodicals over the nature of the minor mode, and the proper method of teaching the minor harmony and the minor scale. While some consider *a* the real fundamental note of the minor harmony *a-c-e*, others tell us that it is *c*, others again *e*. That is, all three notes of the chord are in turn claimed as the fundamental note. The natural generation of the major harmony has, ever since the time of Zarlino, been regarded, and rightly, by musicians themselves as of much importance. The generation of the minor harmony has always presented greater difficulties. Difficulties, however, are not overcome by being ignored.

It is not surprising that the belief should sometimes be expressed that while the major harmony is natural, the minor harmony is artificial. But if we proceed to remedy nature's failure in this respect and construct a minor harmony for ourselves, as *a-c-e*, no sooner have we taken a good look at it than doubts arise as to its artificial nature. For our fifth *a-e* is not really ours, but nature's, and the third *c-e* is nature's third. In short, all the intervals of the major we find again in the minor harmony.

The view, however, that the minor harmony arises from the harmonic series as the upper part of a so-called chord of the

thirteenth;  a chord which, originating in France and

Germany, was later adopted by some English theorists, is not one that readily commends itself. *G* is not the "root" of the minor triad *a-c-e*. Indeed, *a-c-e* as part of the harmonic series of which *C* is prime, is not a minor triad at all, for *a-c* (proportion 13:16) is not a minor third, nor is *a-e* (13:20) a perfect fifth. If *g* be taken as the prime of the harmonic series from which the chord of the 13th as above is derived, both *c* and *e* are so much out of tune that they cannot be included in the scale of C major. And yet *c*

is the tonic of this scale. It is not surprising that many, roused from a blind faith in such harmonic manipulations, should immediately rush to the other extreme and conclude that a rational system of harmony based on natural principles is impossible.

Helmholtz gives a different explanation of the minor harmony. In his *Sensations of Tone* he remarks that it must be understood as a "major klang" with a somewhat "altered" major third. It is an alteration to some purpose. The third is not major at all, but minor, quite opposed to and contradicting our idea of major. We can not regard the minor harmony as a major harmony that has somehow got out of tune.

There is one respect in which the most able writers on this subject—excluding Helmholtz—are agreed. Zarlino, Rameau, Tartini, Hauptmann, Riemann, Öttingen, and others, all tell us that the minor harmony cannot be rationally conceived nor aurally appreciated as a tonal unity except as the inversion of the major harmony. The minor harmony, if regarded in the same aspect as the major, *i.e.*, as an ascending formation, generated upwards, signifies duality, discord. It has a "double root," or two generators: *a* which gives rise to the fifth *a-e*, and *c*, which gives rise to the third *c-e*.

If, however, we consider the minor harmony as a descending instead of an ascending formation, it is observed to arise from the same natural order as the major, but in the opposite direction. That is, while the major harmony arises from the proportional series $1 : \frac{1}{2} : \frac{1}{3} : \frac{1}{4} : \frac{1}{5} : \frac{1}{6}$, the minor harmony arises from the same series

reversed, *viz.* $1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6$.



Here the proportions

relate in each case to string lengths. But they may also relate to rates of vibration. As the rate of vibration of a string is inversely proportional to its length, the major harmony, related to vibrations, is determined by the series $1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6$; the minor harmony by the same series reversed. $1 : \frac{1}{2} : \frac{1}{3} : \frac{1}{4} : \frac{1}{5} : \frac{1}{6}$, which may also be expressed in whole numbers as $60 : 30 : 20 : 15 : 12 : 10$. This, in brief, is about the extent of our knowledge of the nature of the minor harmony. Dr. Hugo Riemann exerted himself, but without success, to discover an objective series of "undertones" corresponding to the series of overtones. Öttingen was of opinion (*Harmoniesystem in dualer Entwicklung*) that while all the sounds of the major harmony find their unity in the fundamental or

"ground-tone," in the minor harmony the element of union is found in the first partial tone common to all three sounds of the



harmony. But for Öttingen, and for us, there is no difference whatever between the fifth *c-g* of the major harmony and the fifth *c-g* of the minor harmony. The minor harmony has still a "double root": *c* gives rise to its fifth *c-g*, and *e♭* gives rise to its major third *e♭-g*. We are brought back to where we were, and we are practically reduced to the fact, first signalled by Gioseffo Zarlino in the middle of the 16th century, that the minor harmony arises from the same proportions as the major, but in the reverse order. This, however, represents the beginning rather than the end of the problem: for there immediately arise questions of the utmost difficulty, questions to which no satisfactory answer has so far been forthcoming.

For example, we know how the major harmony arises from the "overtone" series actually existing in harmonic resonance, but where does one find a corresponding, or rather opposed, "undertone" series? The minor harmony may be the reverse of the major, but how does it arise? No one can tell us. Again, if the human ear is trained, as it has been trained by nature and practice for centuries, to appreciate the consonant intervals as they arise in the ascending series, how must it comport itself in order to appreciate these same intervals in the opposite and descending direction? In the major harmony *c-e-g*, it is easy to understand, in a tonal sense, the fifth *c-g* in an upward direction: *g* is fifth of *c*, and *c* is its fundamental or generator. But in the minor harmony *c-e♭-g*, how is it possible to appreciate tonally the same fifth *c-g* in the opposite direction: to understand *c* as fifth of *g*, and *g* as the prime or generator, not only of the fifth *c-g*, but also of the third *e♭-g*, and indeed of the whole minor formation?

Dismissing for the moment ratios and proportions, we may at first concentrate on a certain distinguishing feature of the minor harmony about which probably the majority of musicians are agreed. It is this, that while in the major harmony the tonal weight seems to gravitate towards and centre in the fundamental note, in the minor harmony, which is allowed to retain some at least of its original purity, and is not approximated to what we may call its

tonic major harmony, the sound that impresses the ear as of quite peculiar importance is not the reputed fundamental note but the fifth: *i.e.*, in the minor harmony *a-c-e*, not *a*, but *e*. This peculiarity of the minor harmony has been insisted on, not only in folk-music, but by all the great composers from Palestrina to Beethoven and from Beethoven up to our own day. Palestrina's

Phrygian mode:  is just the purest form of

the minor scale, *i.e.*, the major scale exactly reversed. Its dominant *c*, mediant *a*, and final *e* together constitute the purest

form of the minor harmony: . Although the existence

of the pure minor scale has been recognized (C. H. Blainville, in his *Essai sur un troisième mode*, 1751, identified it, not quite accurately, with the "*mode hellénique*," the Greek *Dorian*), no one, so far as the writer is aware, has spoken of a pure minor harmony. Yet the existence of such a harmony may be demonstrated with even greater certitude than a pure minor scale; for the scale may be considered to be based on the harmony, rather than the harmony to be determined by the scale.

It may be objected that while the minor harmony does frequently assume a dependent character, hanging downwards, as it were, from its fifth, it also frequently appears to be based firmly on a lower fundamental note, in exactly the same way as the major harmony. In using the minor mode not even the great composers can dispense with a tonal centre or tonic. This tonic is the first, not the fifth, of the mode, and it is understood and treated as the real fundamental note of the minor tonic triad, as thus:



The answer to this objection is, that in such a case we hear, not a minor harmony in the real sense of the term, but one that is approximated to the major. We hear not a tonal unity, but a duality, and the more the lowest note is insisted on, the more dissonant does the chord become. It now agrees as nearly as possible with Helmholtz's description of it as an altered "major klang." Such an obvious contradiction is not infrequently removed

by the very simple device of allowing the major harmony to have its way, and substituting the major for the minor third—the *tierce de Picardie*.

The pure minor harmony, as the complete reflection of the major harmony, does not appear to possess any fundamental note, in the usual meaning of the term: but floats, as it were, in the air.



At the same time, just as *c-e-g* may represent the complete major harmony *c-e-g-c*, so *a-c-e* may represent the complete minor harmony *e-a-c-e*. For in the minor harmony both fifth and third may be apprehended in a downward sense, as in the major harmony they are apprehended in an upward sense. An excellent example of the pure minor harmony in its complete form is to be found at the beginning and end of the Allegretto of Beethoven's A-major Symphony. For what other reason should Beethoven elect to begin and end with what appears to be a \sharp chord, the weakest position of the triad *a-c-e*?





How then does the ear behave in appreciating the minor harmony? When we hear two or more musical sounds, simultaneously, or in succession, we almost instinctively try to discover some tonal connection or relationship between them. Thus, in the case of the major harmony, as *c-e-g*, we relate both *e* and *g* to *c*. There are three intervals present, *viz.*, the fifth *c-g*, the major third *c-e*, and the minor third *e-g*. The two former arise directly: they are, in Hauptmann's language, "directly intelligible" intervals. The minor third is not directly intelligible: *g* cannot be related to *e* as generator, nor *e* to *g*. The minor third *e-g* is tonally intelligible, in a major sense, only by reference to *c* below it, and as part of the formation *c-e-g*, which contains a perfect fifth and major third.

In the minor triad, as *a-c-e*, the ear cannot, strive as it may, relate *c* to *a*. It is therefore forced to relate *c* to *e* above it. For

c-e is an interval that is directly intelligible. It is, however, a remarkable species of third. For it does not arise from *c* as generator. Every attempt on the part of the ear to relate *e* to *c* is baffled, so long as *a* remains a constituent of the tonal order *a-c-e*. The reason is obvious. If *c* generates its third *e*, it must first generate its fifth *g*, for a harmonic third presupposes a harmonic fifth, and the major third arises from the harmonic division of the fifth, thus: $\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{3}:\frac{1}{4}$
c-e-g. The sound *g* cannot be introduced into the order

a-c-e without destroying its unity and turning it into a discord. The ear being forced, then, to relate *c* to *e*, *e* is apprehended as starting-point and generator, as in a sense it really is, of the third *c-e*. It is a third brought about by the fifth, just as in the case of the major harmony, but an arithmetic third, with the upper, instead of the lower, note as starting-point. For if, in the major harmony, the minor third arises as the fifth complement of the

major third:  in the minor harmony the major third

c-e arises as the fifth complement of the minor third *a-c*: 


It is a third brought about by the sound *e*, which is not generated by *c* but arises as fifth of *a*. And if the ear, thrown back, as it were, from *e* as starting-point, appreciates the third *c-e* in an inverted sense, it tends to appreciate the fifth in like manner: so that, for the ear, *e* becomes the starting-point of the whole order *a-c-e*.

The minor third, unintelligible in itself, becomes intelligible through its union with the major third. This union is brought about in two different ways. It might almost be said that the minor third searches for and finds the major third with which it desires to be united. In the first case *f* appears as a resultant tone:



in the second, *e* appears as an upper partial tone. These sounds have more than a merely theoretical significance. They may actually and easily be heard. In the first case the third *f-a* springs from *f* as generator; in the second, the third *c-e* is brought about by *e*, which then appears as starting-point and indeed, in a sense, as generator.

While, however, *e* forms the starting-point of the third *c-e*, the fifth *a-e* appears to have *a* as generator. We have therefore, in the harmony *a-c-e*, a fifth generated upwards, but a major third generated downwards. Understood thus, we have advanced very considerably beyond that conception of the minor harmony which makes of it an altered "major klang." Still, a minor harmony that consists of a fifth generated upwards and a third generated downwards, is not yet a pure minor harmony. For such a harmony it is necessary that not only the major third but also the fifth should be conceived in a descending (arithmetic) aspect. This construc-

tion manifests itself in the pure minor harmony:  Here,

the sound *a* cannot spring from, nor be directly related to, the lower *e*. The ear therefore relates it to the upper *e*, from which springs the fifth *a-e*, an arithmetic fifth, with *e* as starting-point. Now the fourth is rendered intelligible exactly in the same way as in the major harmony, *viz.*: as the octave complement of the fifth. Similarly, as already remarked, *c* cannot be related directly to *a* nor to the lower *e*. The ear therefore relates it to the upper *e*, from which springs the major third *c-e*. The minor third *a-c* is now intelligible as the fifth complement of the major third, exactly as it is rendered intelligible in the major harmony. The whole construction is now descending and arithmetic.

So accustomed are we to conceive harmony as springing upwards from a fundamental sound either actually present or understood, that it is not surprising if we have come to believe that harmony has no other aspect, in spite of the fact that we do reckon, in a tonal sense, intervals downwards as well as upwards, and that the ear has the ability to appreciate one and the same harmonic interval in two different directions, although not at one and the same time. Thus we tonally appreciate the fifth *f-c* in an upward direction: *f* is generator and *c* is fifth. But we also speak of and appreciate *f* as the fifth below *c*, calling it the subdominant of *C* major. That is, we now consider the fifth *f-c* as a descending fifth, of which *c* forms the starting-point. Not for a moment will



we subordinate *c* to *f*, or admit that in the triad

of triads that determine the C major key system $f-a-c-e-g-b-d$, *f* is the generator of all the sounds that appear above it. That the ear should possess the ability to appreciate harmonic intervals in

two different directions is not so very astonishing. In nature we have both height and depth and we rightly distinguish between them. And yet these are one and the same thing, but considered in different directions.

All this is doubtless very largely empirical. The question, however, has another aspect, one intimately connected with certain tonal facts of considerable importance. If theorizing is easy, the discovery of such tonal facts—a vastly more important matter—is difficult. These facts go to prove that nature, even if she does not provide us with an objective "undertone" series, is not quite so passive nor indifferent towards the minor harmony as is sometimes imagined. It may be objected that although nature gives us an ascending harmonic series, and divides a string or other sonorous body into two, three, four, etc., equal parts, she nowhere even suggests a descending series where, instead of being divided, the string is doubled, trebled, quadrupled, etc. On the contrary, this is just what nature does. In a vibrating string there may be distinguished not only the fundamental sound produced by the vibration of the string as a whole, but also certain harmonic sounds produced by the vibration of aliquot parts— $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, etc.—of the string. A vibrating string, however, also sets the sounds 2, 3, 4, etc.—more accurately, the strings corresponding to these sounds—below it into covibration. The ascending series defines the major harmony, the descending series the minor:




In the former we find unity divided, in the latter we find unity multiplied. Both arise from the same order, for the orders 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, etc., and 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., are the same, except that one is the inversion of the other.

At one time it was thought that here we possessed a real objective "undertone" series, a phenomenon other than and different from the overtone series, and independent of it. Happily for harmony as a rational science, it is not, nor is any such likely to be discovered. Such a discovery would complicate, not simplify, the science of harmony. The greatest investigators, including Rameau and Tartini, arrived ultimately at the conclusion that although the minor harmony can be rationally conceived only in a descending direction, in harmony, there do not and can not exist two indepen-

dent and contradictory principles, but a single principle only exists, viz.: the ascending harmonic series, as it exists in harmonic resonance. But how the minor harmony could be generated by an ascending series remained a mystery.

It was discovered that in the descending series, as given above, the note which forms the starting-point, while it excites covibration in the multiples below it, causes them to vibrate not in their totality but only in sections: for example, 2 in two sections, 3 in three sections, etc., each section corresponding to the unison of the exciting sound. In short, it is the ascending series over again. For e^1 is just the octave of e^2 , and the proportion 2:1 of the descend-

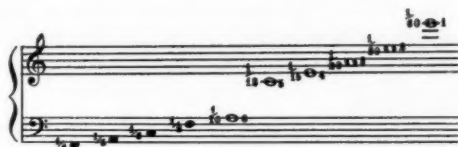
ing series is just 1:½ of the ascending series:  Simi-

larly, e^1 does not generate a^2 ; on the contrary a^3 generates e^1 , its twelfth, and the proportion 3:1 turns out to be the same as

1:½ of the ascending series:  This phenomenon

of the descending series, natural though it be, was accordingly dismissed; instead of dispelling any of the obscurity that beset the minor harmony, it appeared to make matters rather worse than they were before.

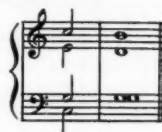
If, however, it was too eagerly hailed at first as a real objective "undertone" series, it has since been too hastily dismissed as having little or no significance for the problem of the minor harmony. It is, on the contrary, of much significance. It points directly to the conclusion, and indeed may be said to furnish proof, that the minor harmony is not the result of an independent "undertone" series, any more than the series 1:2:3:4 is independent of or unconnected with the series 1:½:¼:⅛, but arises out of, or is brought about by, the major harmony. It is certainly a descending series, but it is the consequence of an ascending one;



In the overtone series of which C is prime, the minor harmony would appear in the position:



In each case the minor harmony appears at the numbers $\frac{1}{10} : \frac{1}{12} : \frac{1}{15}$. In such a descending series the multiples actually vibrate in their totality. It is not difficult to understand how such a descending order is bound to arise as a consequence of the ascending order. If we ascend from c^1 to its octave c^2 , this octave may itself appear as unity, whereby the lower sound becomes the octave below unity. That is, $\frac{1}{c-c}$ is transformed to $\frac{2}{C-c}$. Similarly, if we ascend a fifth from 1 to $\frac{3}{2}$, thus $\frac{3}{2}$ may appear as unity, whence the ascending order is transformed to the descending order and inverted $3:1$.¹ This happens daily and hourly in musical practice. If we make the harmonic ascent of a fifth, the result is not, as might be imagined, an authentic cadence, but a plagal one:

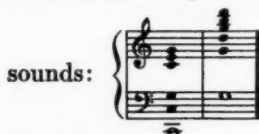


We define not a harmonic but an arithmetic division of the octave:



The descending order 1:2:3:4 immediately arises.

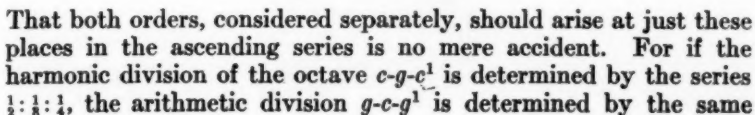
It may be thought that this is merely a subjective illusion, or at least that it has really to do with the working of the mind, with psychology and æsthetics. No doubt it has, only psychology and æsthetics have to do not with some dream-world of airy nothing but with a real world: that in which we find ourselves placed. In any case, if it be really an illusion, it is one in which nature would appear to participate. For each sound of the harmonic series not only has the form of a partial tone but is itself unity, a fundamental or prime that gives rise to its own series of harmonic



sounds:

Thus *g*, the third upper partial tone in

¹We may add that if we ascend a major third from 1 to $\frac{4}{3}$, this $\frac{4}{3}$ may appear as unity, whence arises the inverted order $5:1$. In this simple, and indisputable, statement of fact, the reader has the key to the solution of the problem of the minor harmony.



series reversed, viz.: 2:3:4, and if the major harmony is determined by the series $1:\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{3}$, the minor harmony is determined by the same series reversed, viz.: 4:5:6.

We have observed that in the ascent from $\frac{1}{c}$ to $\frac{1}{g}$, while g may quite well retain its determination as fifth of c , it may, on the other hand, become a fundamental or tonic, seeing that it gives rise to its own series of harmonic sounds. And this it very readily does, as in the plagal cadence, or modulation to the dominant key. The inevitable result is that the original harmonic order becomes an arithmetic one, for the harmonic $\frac{1}{c-g}$ has given place to the arithmetic $\frac{3}{c-g}$. In this case, $\frac{1}{g}$ becomes the starting-point of a descending as well as an ascending order, the sounds of this descending order arising as constituents of the harmonic series beginning an octave lower than that of which $\frac{1}{g}$ is the third upper partial tone, but of which the original series forms part:



If this lower series be transposed an octave higher, the arithmetic

order appears also an octave higher:



But it

may appear in this position within the original harmonic series of which C is the prime, if we make the octave above the prime the starting-point for the ascent of the fifth, as may quite well happen, seeing that the ascent from c to g need not be restricted to any particular pitch. We may even begin the ascent with middle c , in which case the descending order in the harmonic series of which C is prime, will have the position:



Similarly, if the upward progression be made from c to e , e may assume the position of prime, whereby there arises the arithmetic order $c-e$. The sound e becomes the starting-point of an inverted or arithmetic third. An arithmetic third presupposes an arithmetic fifth, while again an arithmetic fifth presupposes the octave. It is very remarkable that in the harmonic ascent from c to e (although it is possible for e , with its harmony $e-g\sharp-b$, to retain its position as mediant of c), the major harmony on e should be so easily and naturally appreciated as dominant of a minor, so that the minor

harmony $a-c-e$ ensues almost as a matter of course:



The arithmetic third $c-e$ requires the arithmetic fifth $a-e$:




It is e from which this third springs.

The sound a of the minor triad $a-c-e$ does not form part of the harmonic series of which C is prime. It is to be found, however, in the harmonic series originating a fifth lower, or the equivalent of a fifth, viz.: F . The series of which C is prime is contained within that of F . For if any partial tone may become a prime, any prime may become a partial tone. Otherwise there could be no modulation to the subdominant key, nor to several other keys. Therefore, if we make g the starting-point for the ascent of the major third $g-b$, the minor harmony occurs in our original C series at the position:




It is unnecessary to imagine that an intimate knowledge of the harmonic series was essential before the plagal mode, or the minor harmony, could find a place in musical art. The ancient Greeks were acquainted with the fifth, as $a-e$, but do not appear to have at first understood its nature as an authentic fifth, nor to have been able to relate e to a generator. They, therefore, related e

to its octave below. Indeed, an octave relationship arises and is understood more immediately and directly than a fifth relationship.

Thus arose the Greek plagal order:  which served as

the foundation of their diatonic system, probably of all their systems. These were all tetrachordal systems, based on the fourth. The fifth was derived from the fourth, as its octave complement:

 so that the Greek mode was a descending and arithmetic one.

When the major third appeared, musicians were already thoroughly familiar with the fifth. But at first *e* appears to have been understood, not as having its foundation in *c*, but rather as fifth of *a*. For a fifth relationship arises, and is understood, more immediately and directly than a third relationship. Again arose a descending and arithmetic order, viz.: the minor harmony *a-c-e*, and even in its purest form as *e-a-c-e*. Even today, as already remarked, after the authentic third has been used and understood for centuries, we hear in the harmonic progression from *c* to *e* (*c-e-g* followed by *e-g#-b*) the third *c-e* as an arithmetic third, and *e* as fifth of *a*. It is not surprising that the plagal mode arose so early, nor that ancient music is so largely of a minor character.

Nature, in dividing the octave harmonically, generates not one interval only, but two: not only a fifth, but also a fourth. It is the fourth that characterises the arithmetic plagal order. Again, in dividing the fifth harmonically, nature generates not only a major, but a minor third. It is the minor third that characterizes the minor harmony. This minor third is not "directly intelligible." But it remedies this defect by discovering and uniting with itself the fifth of which it forms part, or the major third which is its fifth complement. This it may do in two directions:



The first harmony *c-e-g* is major; the second *e-g-b*, minor. The analogy between the two positions will be readily perceived.

Again, in the harmonic ascent of the fifth, as from *c* to *g*, it is unnecessary to assume that before venturing on the progression:



musicians must have heard all these sounds in the harmonic series of which *C* is the prime. All that was necessary was the tonal appreciation of the fifth and the major third, for *b* and *d* have exactly the same relationship to *g* that *e* and *g* bear to *c*. In such a harmonic succession, however, there emerge not two triads

merely but three: $\underbrace{c-e-g-b-d}$, for in addition to the two major triads

there emerges a minor triad, viz.: *e-g-b*. In this triad *b* is determined as fifth of *e*, whereby there arises the arithmetic third *g-b*. In the major triad *g-b-d*, *b* is determined as harmonic third of *g*. The third *g-b* may be heard and understood now as a harmonic, and again as an arithmetic, third, but it cannot be heard nor conceived in both these aspects at one and the same time. In the little tonal system of three triads thus evolved, *g-b-d* has the position of tonic harmony and *c-e-g* that of subdominant harmony, while *e-g-b* is relative minor. The relationship between the minor *e-g-b* and the major *g-b-d* is brought about by the third *g-b*, common to both but conceived in different directions. It is one and the same interval, completed arithmetically by the lower fifth *e-b*, and harmonically by the upper fifth *g-d*. The relationship between the major *g-b-d* and what is known as its tonic minor is not so close. There is, it is true, a common fifth *g-d*. It is not the fifth, however, that informs us of the major or minor nature of a triad, but the third. There is no relationship between the thirds *g-b* and *g-bb*, nor between *bb* and *b*, but contradiction. It would not be wrong to say that the minor harmony *g-bb-d* is a contradiction of the major *g-b-d*.

The minor harmony, in its true aspect, although it is the reflection of the major harmony, has none of the brightness of the latter but is as moonlight to sunlight. The reason for the dependent, veiled, even mysterious nature of the minor harmony is found just in the fact that it is a reflection, and in the manner of its origin. It arises from the natural order, but from the natural order reversed. The mystery of its origin has always stood in the way of a rational science of harmony. For a science of harmony which is unable to account for one of the only two consonant triads used in music has not a secure foundation. It is possible to

form the opinion that music which has no better foundation than mere human caprice is a baseless fabric of human emotion and desire, a tale that signifies nothing. But if man is a rational being, he must believe that he forms part of a rational universe. He must believe that amid all the din, fever, and rush of human activity, while the transient and temporal pass away and are forgotten, the beautiful, the true, remains forever, and that neither time nor the powers of time are able to prevail against it.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

A GREAT deal has been done by the publishing house of Alfred A. Knopf, of New York, in helping to make the astonishing tale of Richard Wagner's life fully accessible to readers of English. It is a tale like no other. Whenever interest in it seems to be flagging, new "disclosures" stir the curiosity of even those who were content and hopeful that the last word had been said, the ultimate indiscretion placarded. Mr. Knopf first published Mr. Ernest Newman's vivid and critical study of "Wagner, the man and the artist;" then came the profuse biography of that extraordinary woman, Cosima Wagner, by Count Du Moulin-Eckart, with the revealing extracts from her diaries and correspondence; this was followed by a volume of Hans von Bülow's selected letters; and now we are given an English translation (by Hannah Waller) of Dr. Julius Kapp's book on "The Women in Wagner's Life."

Considering the important part that woman—or women—played in the composer's round of adventures, the thorough discussion of the subject in all its ramifications would appear amply justified. But one can not help wishing that the treatment had been entrusted to hands more delicate than those of the author. Prudery is not the reason for the wish. Wagner, the brazen exhibitionist, asked for no mercy. But just because so much of Wagner's "love-life" is distinctly pathological; because it presupposes rather an abnormal mental and physical constitution; because it is so intimately interwoven with his creative activity, one could have imagined a handling somewhat more searching, more subtle, more discriminating than Dr. Kapp has applied to it.

When the book was first published in German, nearly twenty years ago, it was set down by severer critics as a mildly spiced ragout concocted of scraps of old "scandal" with a few bits of more recently raked up offal thrown into the mess, the whole warmed up over the unsteady flame of journalistic peat. Even now, when the author claims to have turned out "an entirely new book," drawing upon "a mass of hitherto inaccessible material, rejecting gossip and sensationalism," the book still suffers abundantly from its original faults. Which does not mean that it will not tell a lot of readers a lot of things about Wagner they did not know before, things they will swallow with delight if what they want is "a

sensational novel." But none of the three stars of first magnitude that form Dr. Kapp's "triple constellation"—Minna Planer, Mathilde Wesendonck, Cosima von Bülow—appears so completely and clearly detached from the nebular gases of hypothesis or fiction as to give one the impression that the author was intent upon recording the history of a remarkable case rather than upon writing a seasoned story round the frailties of a giant. What we stand in need of is a sober appraisal of just how close Wagner was to being an average male while coming nearest to our concept of a superman. Had he been a successful banker or broker in modern America, instead of a struggling composer in Victorian Europe, his amatory tangles might have gained him ephemeral prominence on the front page of the dailies, but not—fifty years after his death—elaborate portrayal as an ordinary sensualist.

After Dr. Kapp has passed in review all the female asteroids whom Wagner pulled into his orbit, we are told once more that it was the triple constellation without which "Wagner's work would hardly have assumed for us the greatness and breadth of appeal that it has today." And the rôles played by Minna, Mathilde, and Cosima, the author characterizes by asserting that "one he married, one was his *unsterbliche Geliebte*, and one married him." Epigrams are dangerous weapons; dangerous to the one who wields them, unless his aim is deadly sure. Dr. Kapp's differentiation between these three women is loose, inaccurate, misleading. And so is a great deal that he has to say about other and lesser "loves." Nor is Wagner's own complex nature presented in a really penetrating light, showing the consequence of his inconstancy. Wagner, the artist, is above reproach. Wagner, the man, needs no defender in this late day. Wagner, the type of "split personality," continues to stand before us a half-solved riddle. His sex-life and his love-life were two different things; but he had an incorrigible way of mixing up low intrigues and high ideals. His creative activity depended on both; but differently at different times. To separate here, to distinguish, to analyse, and to convince, is the real task of anyone who presumes to assign their proper places to "the women in Wagner's life."

* * *

Once upon a time it was enough to write a person's "life" if it was worth recording. Of late, the French have taken to qualifying the life with some adjective calculated to beguile those readers to whom the person means less than the attribute of his earthly

experience. Thus there have been various series of books with accounts of "La prodigieuse vie d'Honoré de Balzac," or "La vie paresseuse de Rivarol," or "La vie turbulente de Camille Desmoulins," or—to mention a musician—"La vie illustre et libertine de Jean-Baptiste Lully" by that most competent musicologist, M. Henry Prunières, especially versed in the musical seventeenth century of France and Italy. For those who are somewhat sadistically inclined, who derive pleasure from the pains of others, there is "La vie douloureuse de Charles Baudelaire" and, if they lean to music besides, "La vie douloureuse de Schumann." The last, by M. Victor Basch of the University of Paris, has now been published (A. A. Knopf, New York, 1931)¹ in an English translation (by Catherine Alison Philips) entitled "Schumann, A Life of Suffering." There are a number of musicians whose life would merit the same epithet. Few reclined on a bed of thornless roses, basked in the sun of royal favor, were ideally mated, or amassed great riches. Most men of genius are their own worst enemies; they create only by destroying themselves. Or is it a blind and relentless fate that ordains their doom? Schumann died insane. He had caught the *morbus Hoffmannicus*. It was rampant. He was a strange mixture of combatant and dreamer. He was the most romantic of the romanticists. In his eagerness to sight new tonal regions his view became blurred and distorted. But not until his ear had caught the sound of fresh enchantment, still potent and undiminished. His imitators seized only upon his weakest trait, his sentimentality, and exaggerated it to the perdition of at least two musical generations. M. Basch does not try to retrace the inner development of Schumann, nor is he greatly concerned with the composer's works. He merely recounts the outward circumstances in the life of one who, to the author, was the "interpreter of moral suffering and palpitating emotion, of aspirations towards an Infinite full of mystery, and descents into unfathomable abysses." The style remains floridly French, even in the English translation.

* * *

A book of weightier calibre is Mr. Francis Toye's "Giuseppe Verdi, his life and works" (A. A. Knopf, New York, 1931). It is the first book in English to deal adequately and justly with a com-

¹The reviews of the lives of Schumann and Verdi appeared originally in "The Saturday Review of Literature" and are reprinted here by courtesy of the editor, Mr. Henry Seidel Canby.

poser upon whom too many musicians and critics have looked condescendingly, if they did not entirely overlook him. Yet he was a great composer, a noble character, a spiritual force.

The author has brought to his book not only infinite patience in fruitful research, but the sort of affectionate veneration which is necessary to instil real life into any biographical study. The book is not a "brilliant performance," is not bedecked with purple patches designed to hide a substratum of dullness; it is not colored by prejudice. It is an honest picture of the life and work of one of the most honest artists that ever lived, a man to whom pose—personal or artistic—was simply impossible. Perhaps here lies the reason why an age of musical *poseurs* has seen fit to sneer so often at a musician who—whatever the intrinsic value of some of his musical ideas may be—never allowed himself to "fake."

Mr. Toye is not blind to the "weak spots" in Verdi's music. They are accounted for by the mode of production occasionally forced upon an opera composer obliged to satisfy an impatient impresario. But the writing of an opera like "Il Trovatore" in 29 days (Nov. 1-29, 1852) was not necessarily a hastily finished job, but the rapid realization of something that had lain dormant for some time in the composer's mind. There were the spurts of gushing inspiration. And again Verdi could be slow, infinitely slow. He was given to revising, to laborious rewriting. And there were the great "pauses" which separate "Aida" (1871), "Otello" (1887), and "Falstaff" (1893), those ultimate jewels of transcendent beauty in the composer's many-studded crown.

At considerable length we are told the story of Verdi's life; a life of hard work, of sorrows and joys, of unswerving rectitude—unlike that of his most eminent German contemporary—the whole placed in its proper relation to the phases of musical and political history—especially the history of a reborn and chivalrous Italy—with which it was synchronous. Painstakingly the author goes into each one of the librettos, bravely tackling and actually unravelling such dim and complicated plots as that of "Il Trovatore." Mr. Toye's exposition of one of the most involved and tenebrous of operatic yarns becomes a thrilling and intelligible tale of love and crime.

On certain points the author's opinions bid us alter our previous conceptions; so with Arrigo Boito's supposed influence on the master, and the master's later shift to some of Wagner's ideas:

Boito was far more a Verdian than a Wagnerian, for he preferred Verdi's outlook in every respect, æsthetic as well as social, even though

he might have admitted the superiority of Wagner's intellectual equipment in most, and his musical equipment in some, respects. Second, Boito, whether a Wagnerian or not, seems to have had no direct musical influence on Verdi at all. What he did influence was his cultural outlook. Verdi always possessed an instinctive, uncultivated *flair* for what was great—for Shakespeare, Michael Angelo, and Beethoven. Boito made it more conscious . . . Boito's great and undeniable merit was to have made himself so beloved by Verdi that the composer accepted with enthusiasm from his hands the two best librettos in the history of Italian opera.

Allusion is made, of course, to Verdi's "Otello" and "Falstaff," those vigorous, full-blooded, verdant works written when the composer was seventy-four and eighty respectively. Born in the same year as Wagner, 1813, the Italian master outlived the German by eighteen years. And in that last span of life he wrote his two greatest works. He learned the fine passes of his trade at an age when others have forgotten its rudiments or become petrified in stale reiteration. The feat would have been unlikely had it not been for Boito's incentive and Verdi's youthful senescence. He continued to the end writing music that was essentially, unmistakably Verdian. Yet his manner had traversed a process of evolution and refinement. He did not relinquish his contact with the world, he kept step with his time even though—naturally—he could not assimilate all the new foibles of a younger generation. He remained true to himself. "In his heart he did not believe in judgments at all, either his own or those of other composers, however eminent. He believed in personal taste." And if the life and works of Giuseppe Verdi demonstrate anything that is worth our attention, it is the unbelievable way in which they show this peasant, born in a little Italian village, to have swayed the musical taste of the entire world. The organ grinder, the Khedive of Egypt, singers like Tamagno, Teresa Stolz, Victor Maurel, and Caruso, the garlic-gallery and the diamond-horseshoe—all were equally indebted to this admirable fashioner of stirring and unblushing tunes. And to those who turn up their sensitive noses at these tunes we recommend listening to Verdi's Manzoni Requiem under Arturo Toscanini.

* * *

We have read with mellow feelings and in a reminiscent mood the monograph on "Gustave Charpentier et le lyrisme français"

by Marc Delmas (published by the Librairie Delagrave, Paris, in the series "Les grands musiciens par les maîtres d'aujourd'hui," 1931). It evoked in us many personal memories; it conjured up a past not so ancient after all, and yet irretrievably descended into the vale of shadows. It was only last year that once more we mounted with Charpentier the seemingly interminable stairs that lead to his old lair in the noisy and squalid tenement on the Boulevard Rochechouart to which we first gained access, with joyous trepidation, some thirty years ago. On arriving at his door we asked him why he elected to remain in these humble quarters, when he replied with a simple gesture and a serene smile: *C'est là toute ma jeunesse!*

Delmas is right when he says of Charpentier: "Age has hardly changed him; his silhouette is the same as thirty years ago; his blue-grey eyes sparkle with youth, fixing on you now with gentle irony, now with piercing perspicacity, but always with luminous and calm benevolence. . . . There is no kindlier, no plainer person than Gustave Charpentier. To be with him is unalloyed delight; yet it must be admitted that to approach him is not always easy." Charpentier has learned to value seclusion, independence, tranquillity. Among his intimates he is the jolliest of companions, full of wit, given to the appreciation of rare viands and vintages, always illuminating in his views on life and art. But he surrounds himself with a body-guard to which are detailed, instead of frowning "huskies," the suavest and prettiest young women, known and acting as "secretaries," all the more formidable and intractable because of their winning grace. No telephone is allowed to abet intruders. But two powerful radios pick up broadcasts from the farthest stations over land and sea.

The public knows Charpentier only as the composer of the opera "Louise," universally acclaimed; a drama in which, as Delmas points out, the protagonist is not Louise, not the poet-lover, not the doting and pathetic father, but Paris, the pandering City of Light. Yet Charpentier, in his younger years, wrote songs, inspired by Verlaine and Baudelaire, some of which have not lost the startling freshness that set them apart in a period of transition from stifled convention to untrammelled liberty. We agree with Delmas that Charpentier, the pupil of Massenet, has borrowed little from his teacher. Massenet was adroit and resourceful, but rather too "dainty," somewhat effeminate and preoccupied with woman as a motive force in his music. Charpentier's art, on the contrary, is "above all things masculine, almost drunk with power, domination, and grandeur." Yet Charpentier's love and

admiration for Massenet never abated. When once, on the occasion of a performance of "Roma," we permitted ourselves a slighting remark about Massenet's "lazy" stretches of recitative, Charpentier upheld the older man's *métier* and *maîtrise* with conviction.

Massenet, in turn, was very fond and proud of Charpentier. The last page of the manuscript orchestra score of "Werther" bears this inscription: "Sunday, June 27, 1887, 7 o'clock in the morning. Cloudy weather. Charpentier winner of the First Grand Prize of Rome, yesterday, Saturday. Subject: Dido." From Rome Charpentier sent his "Symphony-Drama" entitled "Vie du Poète." It caused the puzzled shaking of grey heads among the academicians. Gounod, in spite of all reserves, wrote Charpentier a generous and encouraging letter. After the unusual performance of the work at the Paris Opera—the chorus sat in the orchestra pit, the orchestra was placed on the stage, the leading soprano sang from the *parterre* box of the management—Gounod was met in high spirits by an acquaintance in the street, and upon being asked for the reason of his elation is said to have answered: "I have just discovered a musician. His name is Gustave Charpentier. Would you believe it, he writes in C major, and you know that only God Almighty dare write in that key!"

Delmas gives us the inside story—not wholly edifying so far as the musicians are concerned—of Charpentier's election, October 26, 1912, to membership in the *Institut de France* as "immortal" successor to the dead Massenet. His name was not even on the list of the proposed five candidates, which included Lefebvre, Messenger, Maréchal, Pierné, and Hûe. It appears that Saint-Saëns was most bitterly opposed to Charpentier's admission (and yet the fourth and perhaps loveliest movement of Charpentier's *Impressions d'Italie*, "Sur les cimes," finished in 1892, was dedicated to Saint-Saëns). It was the sculptor, painter, architect, and engraver members of the Institute who insisted clamorously that the composer of "Louise" be included among the candidates. And on the second ballot he was elected. While the deliberations were in progress, Charpentier wrote an *Hommage à Massenet* (published in *Le Journal*, October 27, 1912) which contains the following passage: "Ah, my poor heart! How you love strife! You tremble, not with apprehension; you tremble because at last, and once more, you find yourself in the thick of battle!" He was always a fighter, a gallant one, ready always to take up the gauntlet in the sacred cause of art and in the defense of his fellow artists. Undaunted as he is himself, he likes to see everyone else. "My

dream is," he wrote, "to free the young musicians from that absurd fear of the critics, a fear which leads them to put the brakes on their lyricism and spontaneity, which makes them forget that they have a heart, in order to lose themselves in speculations of the mind." It is all the more strange that Charpentier's own creative abandon has been checked by a fatal inertia, a dread of impotence, an overscrupulous self-criticism. His unfinished works abound. Drawers and trunks are full of them. He once confessed: "You see, dear friend, my life will have passed in bewildered contemplation of the letters I should have answered and the compositions I should have finished." And this in spite of a restless activity, always devoted to the organization and propagation of some of his cherished creations, such as "*L'Œuvre de Mimi Pinson*," or "*Le Couronnement de la Muse*," the enactment in real life of the spectacular scene in the third act of "*Louise*."

It was in July, 1903; a Coronation of the Muse was to take place at Châlons-sur-Marne; we were invited by the master to attend as his guest. The performance in the vast parade grounds was grandiose. Singers, mimes, and dancers had been imported from Paris. The united military bands of the local garrison furnished the instrumental music. The "*Muse*," chosen by vote of the townsfolk, was a comely little seamstress. In the evening the event was topped with a banquet—very informal—at the *Hôtel de la Mère-Dieu*. The large company easily succumbed to the host's infectious gaiety. The whole town wore a festive air of unaccustomed animation, because the Arts—united by a socialistic composer-poet into a popular and yet deeply significant spectacle—had come into actual life for the space of one day and momentarily blown, as by magic, all drabness from the humdrum existence of the populace.

Some twenty years ago, on a visit to Europe, we sought the friend in the South of France, his favorite dwelling-place. He had an establishment at Antibes, but he kept a *pied à terre* in Monte Carlo. It was there we went to celebrate the reunion. And a royal celebration it turned out to be. Without having lost his unaffected manner of the inveterate Bohemian, he had grown incredibly distinguished. It seemed as if everybody knew him by sight and saluted him respectfully. At every one of the several high-tone restaurants visited in the course of the evening the *maitres d'hôtel*, the waiters, and the *chasseurs* bent over deferentially as before the traditional Grand-Dukes. Some of the queenly *habituées* of these places greeted him with a curious blend of familiarity and admiration. About three or four o'clock in the

morning we climbed the street that led to Charpentier's house on the hills. Suddenly he stopped, grasped our arm, and bade us listen. There rolled out of the perfumed darkness the incomparable notes of a nightingale. He turned to us and said: "You see, this is why I come here; this is the real charm of Monte Carlo."

C. E.



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BREWER, A. H.

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BREWSTER, H. B.

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Vermont folk-songs & ballads. [Forewd. by Arthur Wallace Peach.] (The Green Mountain series.) 256 p, 12°. Brattleboro, Vt.; S. Daye Press, 1931.

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- HOWARD, JOHN TASKER**
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A Gath for the Vina

As performed by

Lachmi Pershad Misra

A Gath for the Vina

As performed by
Lachmi Pershad Misra

Astai

* Sam

(repetition of Astai)

Antara

Astai

Sancari

Astai

Tan I

Astai

Tan II

* The E^b is not in the Rag. It is produced by means of the mir technique.

IV

Astai

Tan III

Astai

Tan IV

Astai

Tan V

The musical score is written on ten staves, organized into five pairs. Each pair consists of a vocal line (Astai) and a piano accompaniment line (Tan). The vocal lines are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piano accompaniment lines are in treble clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The labels 'Astai' and 'Tan III', 'Tan IV', and 'Tan V' are placed above their respective staves. The piano accompaniment includes some non-standard notation, such as 'n', 'Vn', and 'Vnn', which likely represent specific instruments or sounds. The overall structure is a sequence of vocal and instrumental phrases.

Astai

Tan VI

Astai

Tan VII

Astai

Tan VIII

Astai

The musical score consists of ten staves of music. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is divided into sections labeled 'Astai' and 'Tan VI' through 'Tan VIII'. The 'Astai' sections are characterized by a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, often starting with a 'n' (natural) symbol. The 'Tan' sections are more rhythmic, featuring continuous eighth-note patterns. Some 'Tan' sections include 'Vnn' (vibrato or breath mark) symbols. The score is written on a single page, with the page number 'V' in the top right corner.

Tan IX

Astal

Tan X

Astal

Tan XI

Astal

False Sam

Astai
2 (sam)

Tan XII

Astai

Tan XIII

Astai

Tan XIV

The musical score is written in a single system with ten staves. The first staff is labeled 'Astai' and '2 (sam)'. The second staff is labeled 'Tan XII'. The third staff is labeled 'Astai'. The fourth staff is labeled 'Tan XIII'. The fifth staff is labeled 'Astai'. The sixth staff is labeled 'Tan XIV'. The music is written in a single system with various musical notations including notes, rests, and fingerings.

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The image shows a musical score for a piece with two main sections: 'Asta' and 'Jhala'. The 'Asta' section is written in 2/4 time and features a melody on a single staff with a '2' indicating a second ending. The 'Jhala' section is written in 4/4 time and features a more complex melody on a single staff, with a '4' indicating a fourth ending. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines, as well as a series of rhythmic patterns (n, v, V) written below the staff.

The musical score consists of nine staves of music. The first four staves are a continuous melodic line. The fifth staff is labeled "Astai" and includes a series of notes with "n" underneath. The sixth staff is labeled "Fragmentary Astai" and includes notes with "V n V n n n n V n n" underneath. The seventh staff includes notes with "n" and "V n V n" underneath. The eighth staff is labeled "Jhala Tan I" and includes notes with "n V n V n V etc." underneath. The ninth staff is labeled "Frag. Astai" and includes notes with "n" underneath.

Astai
 Fragmentary Astai
 Jhala Tan I
 Frag. Astai

n
 V n V n n n n V n n
 n V n V n V etc.
 n

Jhala Tan II



Frag. Astai



Jhala Tan III



Frag. Astai



Jhala Tan IV

Frag. Astai

Jhala Tan V

Frag. Astai

Tchai etc.

The musical score consists of ten staves. The first two staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third staff begins with the instruction *accelerando a poco a poco*. The fourth through eighth staves continue the musical progression with various rhythmic patterns and accidentals. The ninth staff is a single line of music. The tenth staff is labeled **Complementary fragment of Astal** and includes a series of notes with letters (n, v) underneath them.

accelerando a poco a poco

Complementary fragment of Astal

n n n v n v n n n n n n n v n v

